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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDF DEPLOYMENT, ACTIVITY ON LEBANESE FRONTS

TA012105 Tel Aviv ITIM in Hebrew 2050 GMT 1 Sep 82

[Excerpt] Southern Lebanon, 1 Sep (ITIM)--The IDF will thin out its forces in the Beirut area in the future. At the same time sources in the IDF noted that everything is prepared to give an appropriate answer to any change in the military situation in Beirut. This is reported by the ITIM correspondent in the north.

Elements in the IDF added that reservists located in Lebanon today are on routine reserve service. Units that had anyway been mobilized for one activity or another were transferred to Lebanon for their reserve service. The IDF is trying that its forces in Lebanon will have "a base routine" just as in Israel, including training.

In the Lebanese Al-Biq'a' too the IDF continues with a regular operational activity. The forces are asked to maintain alertness, to move only on traffic axes that have been examined by sappers and keep alert to what is happening around them.

The soldiers opposite the Syrian positions are optimistic and confident that a political solution which will prevent a conflagration of the front will be found for this part of Lebanon. They note this despite the fact that the Syrians continue to reinforce their units, add weapons and set up new positions.

According to officers in the eastern sector it is hard to believe that the Syrians will expand the fighting on this front. "They are just trying to demonstrate presence and show us they are not afraid," according to a senior officer on that front.

The preparations for winter are continuing among IDF units in Lebanon. "We are trying to fill as many units as possible in Lebanon so that the burden will be equally shouldered by many units," IDF officers say. They all agree that we will stay in Lebanon for a long time still.

CSO: 4400/459

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

ARAB LEAGUE REPRESENTATIVE MAQSUD DISCUSSES REAGAN PROPOSAL

LD042332 Kuwait KUNA in English 1652 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Interview with Dr Clovis Maqsud, Arab League representative to the United States, by KUNA, in Washington; date not specified]

[Text] Washington, Sept 4 (KUNA)--The Arab League representative to the United States Dr Clovis Maqsud expressed the hope that the Arab Summit Conference in Fes will "subordinate Arab differences to the common goal of deterring Israel and retrieving occupied Arab territories and Palestinian rights."

Speaking at an interview with KUNA on the eve of his departure from Washington to Fes, where he has been invited to attend by the Arab League secretary general Dr Maksoud Hoped, he said [as received] that "common features of our policies will take precedence over whatever differences we have."

He added, "differences, however important, remain subordinate to the need for the Arabs to evolve a common stand in deterring Israeli aggression and expansionist demands."

According to Maqsud, who is also the Arab League's permanent observer to the United Nations, "The national priorities and the imminent dangers posed by Israel to the Arab states would motivate them to evolve, ascertain, and reinforce the consensus and not allow the divergencies that did exist and that might persist to overtake the clearer perceptions of the national priorities."

Maqsud added emphatically, "Our unity lies both in our credibility and our effectiveness."

Maqsud, in his interview with KUNA, expressed confidence that the Arab summit will study the consequences of the Lebanese invasion and will help restore the unity and reconstruction of that war-torn country. He also predicted that the summit will "reinforce the ability of the PLO to articulate the national identity of the Palestinians and realize the objectives of self-determination."

Referring to the latest American peace initiative, Dr Maqsud said it undoubtedly will constitute an important component in the deliberations of the summit.

"The reaction to President Reagan's proposals would be selective," according to the Arab League envoy, who has played an important role in discussions between

the American administration and the Arab states. He said the Arab heads of state will "acknowledge the positive elements, trying to enhance them through intensified dialogue."

According to Maqsud, "There is a definite awareness that the Arab-American dialogue has been recharged as a result of the distancing that the President took from earlier American policies." He said such policies in the past tended "to underwrite Israeli objectives." He predicted that "this distancing will hit a responsive chord at the summit," adding that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon will also unify the Arab response.

Among the reservations that the Arabs have to President Reagan's speech, Maqsud cited the fact that the U.S. leader did not address the question of self-determination adequately.

He also criticized the administration's insistence on abiding by the Camp David framework. Maqsud further objected to the absence in the statement of any mention of the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinians. He said the United States must initiate direct dialogue with the PLO leadership.

The Arab League envoy said the negative Israeli response to President Reagan will undoubtedly make the American people more aware of the dangers of Israeli policies. He [word indistinct] American public opinion has realized that the monster they have unleashed (Israel) is becoming unmanageable and uncontrollable."

Maqsud concluded his interview with KUNA by saying President Reagan's initiative was an attempt "not only to distance but to put breaks [as received] on the looseness of this political-military monster's aggression in the region."

CSO: 4500/288

VARIOUS REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS REVIEW NASIRIST LEGACY

Al-Shafi'i Criticises Al-Sadat's Policies

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 5

/Article by Muhammad Abu Shadi/

/Text/ Husayn al-Shafi'i, the former vice president and one of the leading lights of the July revolution, emphatically told me, when I asked him what had remained from the revolution, "What has remained are the people."

The man has let his beard grow and has started to immerse himself deeply in religion. When I arrived at 2200 hours in the evening, he was performing the Ramadan night prayer and he greeted me with a warm welcome--"Greetings to the young people of the July revolution."

The man, as is the custom of Egyptian peasants, insisted on personally offering a cool drink and a plate of fruit and cream. He said,

"I have a tree that has not borne fruit for 10 years, but this year it gave me an abundant crop."

This meeting took place between one of the people who launched the July revolution and one of the sons, or, as they say, the generation, of July.

The Young People's Ambitions

I asked the former vice president to the late president, and member of the July Revolution's Command Council:

"Has the July revolution realized the aspirations of the group of young people--the free officers--who made plans to change the form and substance of the social, political and economic map of Egyptian society?"

He stated confidently and decisively,

"More than its aspirations."

"What evidence is there?"

A Return to the Barracks!

/I asked/ "The free officers should have returned to their barracks and left politics to the politicians after they carried out the revolution."

He said, "Who is it that talks this nonsense?"

I said, "Many people!"

He stated, "They are talking nonsense."

I said, "However, their claim is based on the fact that the young officers did not know politics and that what has now befallen Egypt is the result of a lack of experience."

At this point the Revolutionary Command Council member Husayn al-Shafi'i became agitated. He stated angrily, "For the first time in the history of Egypt /after/ the people who sat down in frustrated experiences for 70 years, negotiating with the British, who did not leave, and the will of the nation then became united, the English fell into their hands and they had no choice but to surrender in 1954 and leave Egypt in just 18 months."

I said, "All the peoples in the world need democracy as a method of action, as a motive force for their activity movement, production and seriousness. However, Egypt, during the experience with the revolution, witnessed periods in which democracy was struck down and concentration camps were opened up. The most recent such period was what happened in September 1981, when all the national forces were put in prison. What is your comment?"

He said, "All right, then why did most of the political movements get out, except for the Moslems?"

I stated, "I do not know. I am asking you."

He stated, "Because Islam, in all its stages, is the target. The Moslem Brothers came back from Palestine to the concentration camps. Hasan al-Banna was killed in 1949. For this reason one of the basic considerations in the trial of Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Hadi was his repression of the Moslem Brothers.

"However, the Moslem Brothers took a position toward the revolution from the first day, specifically on 15 January 1953, especially after the establishment of the Liberation Rally was declared. How could the revolution establish the Liberation Rally, and how could the revolution retain political status? From that day on they said, 'We will not melt into the revolution.'

"Al-Hudaybi met me on 15 January 1953 and said, 'The Brothers are an international movement and will not melt into the revolution. It is all right for you to fight in the Suez Canal, but it is all right for us, as Brothers, to fight in Marrakesh!'"

He said, "This fierce pressure to co-opt it, including a conspiracy and polarization on the part of deviant and treasonous elements. They are all foreign elements which have relied on internal mistakes.

"When you make a revolution, especially in the army, the context of the process remains limited. It is enveloped in secrecy and hedged about by considerations which do not allow the formation of ideas before one can move, the crystallization of approaches before one can act, or the implantation of genuine beliefs before one can act.

"Speed in attaining power has advantages, but it also has faults, because it does not offer a natural opportunity for adequate interaction with the people. Moreover, it is to the benefit of the forces which want to thwart the revolution to flatter it and describe it as a white revolution. Consequently, the struggle does not assume its true dimensions, and measures continue to lack normal interaction where the parties can express their identity and their real nature.

"No one can say that 'Urabi's revolution did not realize its objectives, although its objectives were modest. The truth about 'Urabi's revolution is that it was one wave of popular struggle. It mobilized people's feelings and tried to restore to Egyptians their dignity relative to the foreign groups, regardless of what it achieved and did not achieve. Because life is long and struggle is constant, what is not realized in the first wave will be realized in the second one.

"We in the 23 July Revolution reaped the fruits of the popular struggle in the course of its successive stages. We learned that the 'Urabi revolution was not able to achieve its goals or aspirations, as you say, because it left behind elements of treason in the country, at the head of which treason was the royal family. That was one lesson the July revolution learned.

"In addition, there was a deficiency in technical personnel which was not able to rise to the responsibilities of building a state as a result of inadequacies of education. To that end, the July revolution sought to open the door of free education--you could say that you are one of the people who have benefited from the revolution, especially in the field of education.

"In addition, the economic situation and the debts that the country was reeling under, which prompted the real estate and foreign banks to plunder the people's resources, caused the revolution to correct the course of the economy. It realized a surplus in just 2 years, whereas there had been a deficit amounting to one-third the budget before the revolution.

"To that one should add the attempts to take the revolution unawares and the effort to co-opt it, because, in the estimation of the major powers, it was a 'threat' that went beyond the national framework and the local context, since it sought to liberate the Arab countries and side with African liberation movements. For this reason it was the major powers' appraisal that the revolution should not progress; it should stay in its place."

The Revolution Continues

I asked, "Do you imagine that the rays of the revolution, which spread far afield in the sixties, are still spreading?"

He stated, "I consider that the revolution has spread, and that what has happened in Iran as a revolution is an extension of the 23 July revolution. It is not necessary that revolution be confined to a given area. Revolution is a fire that once kindled may appear to have been extinguished in one place while it is reaching fullness some place else, because the Islamic world is a single unit. Therefore, when our lord talks to the Moslems, he tells them, 'Fight all the idolaters, just as they all fight you.' However, to stand up alone and play Tarzan--no. In the Iranian revolution, they say 'We did everything the 23 July revolution asked for, and we imagined that the first country that would stand alongside us would be Egypt.'"

I asked, "From this can I infer that your excellency supports the Iranian revolution?"

He said, "I support any movement that expresses the will of the people."

I asked, "Don't you agree with me that the last 10 years in the history of the Egyptian people have created new styles in everything, one result of which has been 'corruption in everything?' What would you say?"

He stated, "Corruption is a question of transitory stages in the history of peoples. People, in times of oppression, may appear dull, negative and indifferent. However, that conceals violent feelings of rejection which you can sense in young people. For example, the girls in veils and the Islamic societies; I consider that to be an expression of rejection of everything that exists. Rejection is the beginning of a 'new blend' of thinking that will enable Egypt to stand up to the full scope of the conspiracy and the full scope of the aggression.

"At the beginning, the situation was easy. The enemy was obvious, embodied in the soldiers of the occupation. Now, however, the enemy is hidden. In the context of liberalization, you find that your will has been eliminated. You are not able to confront the real enemy. Indeed, you find that the enemy, in the context of liberalization, is spying on you from every government facility and is changing the course from a national approach to a non-national one. This stage now requires that one discover and unmask the enemy and that you make certain that the enemy will not be able to hide indefinitely."

Liberalization and Justice?

I said, "Therefore economic liberalization has struck out at one of the important gains of the July revolution, and one of its genuine goals, especially as regards social justice."

He said, "No, no, I do not mean that. Through economic liberalization, especially if its orientation is nationalistic, you can achieve what military struggle did not

achieve. One must mobilize capacities similar to those mobilized for the military struggle for the sake of economic struggle.

"I have always said that there are nations which have waged peace in a spirit of war and won in peace, and there are nations which have embarked on war in a spirit of peace. There is no power or strength except through God."

"How, then, do you view the road to which liberalization has brought us?"

He said, "The volume of the debts from 197 /missing/ to 1982 will serve as an indication. The rates of inflation and their relationship to wages in 1970, and prices and wages and their interrelationship in 1982, will serve to show that the liberalization policy did not set out as a struggle whose offensive forces were trained and prepared, in the face of nonexistent national means of defense which did not exist.

"Many countries of the world set up customs protections when there is a threat (as is the case in America now in the form of the confrontation with Japanese cars)."

"Do you consider that liberalization has brought Egypt to some sort of subordination to America?"

He said, "First of all, there are 43 foreign banks. The result is that foreign currency is leaking out just the way water leaks out of your hands. Therefore there ought to have been guarantees to protect the domestic economy. However, if we do not have the will, we will therefore not be able to control the course of events.

"There has also been a military invasion and an economic one. One must confront the latter with defensive means, but if your defensive means are inadequate, everything will become permissible. Therefore the elements of domestic production and the forces of liberalization no longer have equal opportunities!"

He fell silent a few moments, then went on: "There has been an increase of 10 piasters per pack of cigarettes (he meant imported cigarettes), although Egyptian cigarettes were exported once upon a time. Then, whenever customs adds something on, that is taken from the people. Customs does not increase revenues; rather, what you export is what gives you revenues. One year, in Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din's cabinet, we exported 1.2 million tons of rice.

"Now we do not export rice, cotton, onions, shoes or furniture. All Egyptian industries had broad standing in the Arab and African countries and the Eastern states.

"Today, now that relations with Russia have been broken off and the world has gotten into a turmoil over Africa, whom will we export to? On top of that we devise a form of liberalization which does away with domestic industry. Naturally, these causes are headed by people who are drawing benefits!"

Camp David and the Setback!

I said, "Were the Camp David agreements a setback for the July revolution, or a regression from it?"

He said, "Our opinion, that is, the opinion of the Revolutionary Command Council-- Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi, Kamal-al-Din Husayn and Husayn al-Shafi'i--is obvious: it was a treaty of capitulation, not of peace. We prepared a memorandum before it was signed which we sent to President al-Sadat warning of the dangers that would result from the agreement and cautioning against signing it. We received no response. The response, in fact, was the signing.

"We sent another memorandum, but to the People's Assembly and international news agencies this time."

/I asked/ "What is happening with respect to the liquidation of the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese national forces, and the Egyptian government's mediocre handling of this situation, in a manner which reached the point where people supporting the Palestinian revolution were arrested, although defense of the Arabs is an issue that is stipulated in the mutual defense compact? What comment do you have?"

He said, "We warned of this result in our memoranda, because we knew of it in advance. In reality al-Sadat's trip to Jerusalem in 1977 was in itself an unconditional, unrestricted surrender on the part of a head of state who went under a Palestinian flag to a capital which was not recognized as a capital, while we were in a state of war and the enemy was occupying territory, then declared that it was a bold initiative, which he compared to Saladdin. He went to surrender without restriction or condition!

"That is, 1967 was the result of a broad conspiracy and act of treason to bring down Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. Nonetheless, after this war, the Egyptian will was liberated. The corruption that existed in the army was eliminated. For the first time the real forces of revolution started to reconstruct the army, build the missile bases and start the war of attrition.

"The true Egyptian will emerged, when it determined to restore its identity, take its revenge and throw the act of treason back at the people who had perpetrated it. The resignation act was an opportunity to hold a referendum of confidence in Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, who was in the most difficult of circumstances. This is proof that people are able to understand, be aware, analyze and plunge deeply into the heart of issues.

"The fear of the hostile forces was that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir would continue to struggle with the spirit with which he had built the army and with which he had built the missile bases, as well as conducting the war of attrition. That meant that victory would be achieved. Therefore it was necessary to get rid of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and to rely on people who could thwart these arrangements and efforts, ending with the /Diversoir/Gap and the desperate search for a second cease fire so that the operation would not end in tragedy.

"Therefore Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was killed in order to eliminate the spirit with which he had embarked on the preparation for the struggle--which was the same spirit by which he had led the struggle."

What Will Happen after the Liquidation?

"Will this Palestinian liquidation mean security for Israel, as it sees it?"

He stated, in agitation, "The person most responsible for this is Anwar al-Sadat. Nonetheless, the Palestinian revolution represents the kindling of a spirit of struggle in a manner which will restore the spirit which it has lost to the Arab body. It means an awakening of the Arab and Islamic peoples. As a consequence of its results, there will be a review of all Arab and Islamic circumstances and regimes, and its effects will be very far-reaching and profound.

"What will ultimately triumph is the spirit. The Palestinian revolution embodies an inspiration and a kindling of the Arab spirit."

I asked, "Why did you mention the name of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir?"

He stated, "Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, through the 23 July revolution, managed to mobilize the actual resources of the Arab region, but he died in 1967. However, he clung to life in order to conceal his retreat from life in 1970. In this phase he embarked on his most glorious struggles, when he rebuilt the army, established the missile bases and started the war of attrition. When he felt secure he died in a spirit of self-confidence. Long live the struggle, and may one pray for his spirit!"

I asked, "Could you say something about the course of the revolution?"

He said, "Before the British evacuated, I said 'Your enemy will be prepared to surrender to the degree that there is determination in your spirits.'"

/I asked/ "During the Suez war you said that power must have a belief to push it forward and that belief must have power to protect it.

"Why did you peacefully withdraw from the political stage?"

He stated, "I never withdrew. I never was peaceful. However, I do consider that all movement must be persuasive and that movement will never be persuasive unless it is in the context of a real freedom which will allow for the establishment of parties, whatever their character might be and whatever their approaches might be. In this way alone will it be possible to express the will of the nation in an objective, /illegible/ and truthful manner."

I asked, "What remains from the July revolution, 30 years after it was launched?"

He said simply but decisively and with assurance,

"The people remain."

Al-Baghdadi Recounts Personal Experiences

Cairo AL-AHALT in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 6

/Text/ In this conversation, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi presented more than one surprising piece of information. The most important one was that 'Abd-al-Nasir signed a decree appointing al-Baghdadi vice president and prime minister before his death but that the decree was stolen from 'Abd-al-Nasir's safe. The second surprise was that 'Abd-al-Nasir did not issue a decree releasing or dismissing any member of the Revolutionary Command Council but that it was they who chose their stand of their own will, for reasons known to themselves. Let us let the conversation reveal the other surprises.

'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi is one of the most prominent of the men who forged the 23 July revolution. He continued to hold executive positions until March 1964, when he submitted his resignation; at that time he was occupying the post of vice president for production affairs. He had been chairman of the revolutionary court and the first chairman of the National Assembly.

Had fate given Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir an extra day /of life/ he would have become vice president and prime minister on 28 September; we do not know who would have ruled Egypt in the period that has passed, and how we would have been ruled!

Al-Baghdadi is a calm, simple, humble man. When I talked with him by telephone, he was receptive in the spontaneous manner of an Egyptian peasant; he said "Your generation has the right to know everything about July."

I felt intimate with him.

We talked and discussed for more than 8 hours. He was not bored, and I did not sense any sign of anxiety for a moment. He opened up his heart and did not for a moment forget that he was from an Egyptian village in the depths of the Egyptian countryside, Shaha in Daqahliyah. These are the marks of a genuine Egyptian peasant.

The first question was: "What remains from the July revolution?"

He said, "Much remains. Its roots still penetrate deep in the ground, not just in Egypt but also among the peoples of the whole Arab region and the countries of the third world. It will continue to have a very broad influence in spite of the setbacks and negative experiences it has gone through."

"Is it true that you differed with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir over the socialist decrees?"

Most clearly and plainly, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi said, "I did not differ with 'Abd-al-Nasir over the major socialist decrees that were issued in 1961. I differed with him in 1963, after the National Charter was issued. We committed ourselves to it as an earnest national action before the people of Egypt. This meant

that there had been no changes for 10 years; in a state of change, the people are consulted through their councils.

"Jamal had asked that special measures be adopted to nationalize some hulling plants, mills and trucks. I objected to that because it was a violation of the charter. I asked him not to proceed with these measures and I told him, 'That will mean a loss of confidence in the regime and the people. Moreover, we are faithful to the charter and it is not proper that we should be the first to break it!'"

"Jamal promised me that he would take his time issuing the decrees. Then I went to London in July 1963 to have a gall bladder operation and came back in September. The decrees had been issued without being submitted to the National Assembly."

The Reason: Socialism

"What was the motive for these measures?"

"More socialism. Of course there is nothing wrong with socialism, on condition that one consult with the people and commit oneself to the National Charter, because such commitment will create further trust.

"A shift away from some of these measures took place when a crisis occurred in the means of transportation."

I said, "Some political forces claim that the free officers ought to have gone back to their barracks after launching the revolution and that the country ought to have been governed by a civilian regime, since the officers had no political experience in matters of government."

Al-Bughdadi did not lose his calm; instead, he asked me, "Why did the revolution take place?"

I stated, deviously, "I don't know."

He said seriously, as if he was summoning up the recollections of 43 years, which was the period of his national struggle, from the time he founded the flight officers' wing in 1939: "There were corrupt parties, a corrupt regime, the palace and the British. We spelled out our six objectives." He smiled. "I believe you know these. It was not logical that we should surrender the revolution and its six objectives to the old-time politicians.

"It is true that we had no experience, but what experience did the old-time politicians have? Their experience was how to satisfy the king and satisfy the occupying authorities in order to reach power.

"On top of that, what gains did they realize for the Egyptian people through their parties?

It was not possible, therefore, for us to surrender the revolution to the old-time politicians on the excuse that they had expertise; if there had been politicians

who believed in these principles and promoted them through a party, we would have surrendered the revolution to them and said, 'Please carry out these principles, since we are in agreement over them.'

"We asked the parties to clean themselves out before the elections, but they did nothing. The proof of that is that they kept all the political leaders about whom reservations had existed. Therefore we issued the law on parties, in a manner where each party was to present a request to be reconstituted. The parties did not do this. Thus the elimination of the parties took place during a transitional period of 3 years which was to end in June 1956. At the end of that period, power was constitutionally handed over to Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. The National Assembly elections were delayed about a year because of the tripartite aggression."

The Question of Democracy

I said, "Democracy, and the establishment of sound parliamentary practice, were one of the genuine goals of the July revolution. Nonetheless, this goal was not achieved. Why not?"

He said, "Two crises occurred in the National Assembly in 1957 on this subject. It was not actually a question of the Liberation Province, from which a number of National Assembly members were appointed; the crisis was one of views about sound parliamentary practice. I, through my chairmanship of the first parliament after the revolution, wanted this practice to have traditions, strength and weight, so that it could flourish.

"I considered the appointment of a number of assembly members from Liberation Province to be a deviant act that had to be opposed and resisted. Jamal was in agreement on this, then turned around and got the idea that I was 'dealing behind his back.'

"A change occurred in the assembly's desire to be in opposition, and that was the start of the process of obstructing parliamentary practice.

"Then the assembly was dissolved because of the union with Syria. Anwar al-Sadat headed it then."

/I said/ "That means that you agree with me that the objective of democracy was not realized as it ought to have been in the sixties."

"Yes, I agree with you."

"Who was responsible for this--Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir alone, or the Revolutionary Command Council?"

"My resignation, and that of Kamal-al-Din Husayn, were brought on by this anti-democratic tendency. The reasoning behind my resignation revolved around safety and security for the people and the fact that no single person should have a monopoly on decisions. Furthermore, not all the assembly surrendered to individual rule; rather, there was some resistance. The decision to leave the Revolutionary

Command Council (at an early age, that is, we were about 44) was not an easy matter. However, our sense of historic responsibility lay behind the adoption of the difficult decision."

"Wasn't Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir aware that democracy is the basis of any true mass rule?"

"Of course. Jamal was a human. The beginning occurred in 1956 when he nationalized the Suez Canal and gained an overwhelming mass following domestically, in the Arab and international contexts. Then what happened in the Arab nation, the revolution in Iraq, the union with Syria, the revolution in Algeria, the revolutionary tide in Africa, the nonaligned movement, all made him, as a human being, concerned to have the masses feel that he was the man making the decisions."

"What was the evidence for this?"

"The evidence was that in 1962 we decided to form the Presidential Council, in which decisions would be made by the majority. Jamal had only to issue decrees which the majority would agree to. We (the members of the Revolutionary Command Council) all left the executive power, but the experiment did not last long."

The Contacts Resumed

I asked, "What was the nature of the contacts that went on between you and 'Abd-al-Nasir in January 1970?"

'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi said, "As I stated before, I tendered my resignation in March 1964 because of a difference over the method of government, not over the objectives. The reasoning behind the resignation distressed Jamal. Therefore he took a number of measures against me, my brother and my brother in law.

"A year later, in March 1965, the date for the referendum on the presidency was cancelled. Jamal had imagined that I would vote no. It is true that I differed with him, but I whole-heartedly voted yes. Jamal did not sleep the 'night of the selection,' as Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal told me. He followed the results of this committee. As it happened, the whole committee voted yes.

"The next day, Jamal lifted the sequestration from my brother Sa'd, so emphatically that the sequestrator was called in on his day off to hand everything over to my brother.

"In 1965 'Abd-al-Nasir asked me to participate in the responsibilities. However, I refused, because the conditions were as they had been; nothing had changed.

"In 1970, on 28 January, specifically, contacts were made again. The situation which led to these contacts after an absence of 3 years (because we had been with him the night he declared that the forces were being moved in 1967) was that my son Tariq was studying at the American University, and he had asked for a leave from the university to study computers. In order to work and earn his own money. in accordance with the university bill, he had to withdraw from it then return and re-register.

"When Tariq went to re-register in the university after finishing his period of computer studies they told him, 'We have orders that you are not to register!'"

"At the outset, I did not believe him, and I contacted the university. I understood that there were orders from higher authorities. The vice president of the university informed me that I should wait until Dr Nazih Dayf, the sequestor general of the university, returned from the United States, and that I should talk to him.

"To save time, I wrote Jamal a letter stating 'You know that my son Tariq is studying in the American University. He withdrew from it to study computers, then came back, in accordance with the bill, in order to register. He and I were told that there were orders that he could not register. I believe that they understood you incorrectly and I request that the decree be withdrawn. You are a father and you know what fathers' anxieties are like."

"I contacted Muhammad Ahmad, Jamal's secretary, to send me someone to take the letter. The same day, Jamal secretly went to the Soviet Union for a period of 4 days.

"When he came back he contacted me. He did not find me. He informed my wife that I should get in touch with him. My wife talked to me at the club and told me that the president wanted to talk to me.

"I reached him by telephone, at the number my wife had left. He told me, 'I am amazed at what happened to Tariq. If there had been a decree of this kind, I would have exempted Tariq from it so that you would not misunderstand me. In any case, I told Amin Hywaydi and Sami Sharaf to finish with the matter.'

"The relationship began to resume, especially since he put an end to the problem of Muhammad Nusayr, my son-in-law, by taking his name off the blacklist, that is, the list of people who were prohibited from traveling abroad. He asked me to meet him. That was on Thursday. He said that we should meet on Saturday at noon at his home, and we did meet. That was on 28 January 1970. We sat down and walked around in the garden at his home for 3 whole hours.

"As I was shaking his hand at the end of these 3 hours, Jamal said, 'Whenever you find yourself free, pay me a visit.' I told him, 'You know that I am sensitive. I might come by and find you busy, and I might misunderstand things. In any case, when you find that you yourself are free, get in touch with me.' What he said that day indicates his sense of solidarity; he needed someone to whom he could open up his heart and talk to freely.

"We got close to one another, and the touchy feelings, misunderstandings and suspicion started to evaporate. It was his estimation that rapprochement would lead to cooperation, and in the 9 months from 28 January to 28 September we managed to reach common ground mentally and intellectually. We agreed that we should go together to Alexandria after the summit conference held in Cairo to stop the slaughter of the Palestinians, to announce the decree appointing me vice president and prime minister.

"However, fate overtook us.

"I believe that the decree appointing me was stolen from the safe after his death."

Was It Chance?

I said, "At that time Anwar al-Sadat was vice president. What were the circumstances of his appointment to this position? Why did Jamal choose him to be his vice president?"

He said, "During this period, only two people from the Revolutionary Command Council were cooperating with Jamal, Husayn al-Shafi'i and Anwar al-Sadat. Jamal told me that when he went abroad disputes occurred between the two in their capacity as his vice presidents. Therefore he resolved the situation and took a trip, to Morocco at that time. He told Anwar, 'Take the oath.' That was the day he went abroad."

"So it was a matter of chance?"

"Yes, it was chance."

"What about Anwar al-Sadat's fit of anger in July 1970?"

Al-Baghdadi, who was close to Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir at that time, said, "When Jamal accepted the Rogers initiative, he went to the Soviet Union. During his trip, Anwar al-Sadat summoned the Socialist Union Executive Committee and told them, 'This imperialist initiative cannot be accepted. This is an American threat.' When Jamal returned from the Soviet Union he met with the committee and told them that he had accepted the Rogers initiative. They asked him, 'Have you taken back what you were saying?"

"He asked them, 'How is that?' They told him, 'Anwar told us so!' At that point Jamal asked him, 'How is it you were acting this way?' The dispute, or the fit of anger, occurred at that time.

"I heard that Anwar had heart trouble. I talked to him by telephone and they told me he had gone to Mit Abu-al-Kawm. I asked, 'How could he suffer heart trouble and go off?' I contacted Mit Abu-al-Kawm and they said, 'Jamal came by to see him and they went to Alexandria together.' A month had passed since the Rogers affair!"

I asked, "Had you been president of Egypt in the past 10 years, would you have followed Anwar al-Sadat's policies in governing Egypt?"

Al Baghdadi said, "Everyone has his ideas, his way of thinking and his way of acting, which specific circumstances dictate, but it would not have been possible to follow these policies!"

"Why not?"

"Because they entailed a deviation from the line of the revolution. Its basic line, that is, the revolution's, was socialistic, in favor of the overwhelming majority

of the people, who have been deprived of everything and to whom the revolution tried to give compensation. Nonetheless, the lowest classes did not protest. Then, the public sector is the buttress of the domestic economy, but what happened was an attempt to liquidate the public sector and follow the policy of liberalization, which wrecked the Egyptian economy, wrecked social values and relations, and was one cause of increased inflation and indebtedness.

"Also, in foreign policy, the line of the revolution was based on striking a balance between the two great powers and on nonalignment, or nonsubordination to either power, and the maintenance of Arab solidarity.

"This policy was struck down in the days of Anwar al-Sadat!"

The Other Side of the Revolution

I asked, "Can one say that Anwar al-Sadat was the other side of the revolution? If we suppose that the 12 members of the Revolutionary Command Council succeeded one another in power, we would have seen 12 ways of governing Egypt!"

The member of the July revolution's command council, 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi, calmly stated, "The revolution was supposed to have, indeed it is established that it did have specific objectives. A person who rules reaches the objectives, if only in his own way. Therefore I differed with Jamal over the ways but not the objectives.

"Jamal committed himself to the basic line of the July revolution. He was working on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the people of Egypt. However, al-Sadat came, and no one imagined that he would do what he did!"

"Why?"

"Because Anwar changed that notion of the July revolution which was concerned with the overwhelming majority of the people of Egypt.

"We admit that we did not know him well, because he did not become clear to us as a person/ in the course of our relationship with him. Most of the time his ideas were not clear. He seemed always in a state of intellectual turmoil.

"If a person gets into conflicts or conversations, his identity will become apparent. Anwar al-Sadat never differed with Jamal in his life. Perhaps this was a deliberate process of concealment!"

"A German correspondent working for DER SPIEGEL magazine whom I met in London in 1970 told me, "If Anwar al-Sadat spent 18 years with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and did not differ with him once, one of two things is probable--he is either very devious or very nice!"

"This journalist asked Anwar al-Sadat himself this question, and Anwar's answer was 'We did disagree, but we resolved the problems between ourselves (that is privately)!"

"The truth which history has established is that Anwar al-Sadat did not differ with Jamal once his whole life!

"The truth also is that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir never determined to expel or dismiss any member of the Revolutionary Command Council. Rather, the people who left left of their own will, like Jamal Salim, Salah Salim, Hasan Ibrahim, Kamal-al-Din Husayn, Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din and me."

Everything by Decree

"What about the secret organization?"

He said, "Anwar was with us in the first air corps organization in 1939, which he said he had formed himself--that is, he came down by parachute and formed it. All right, then why didn't he form an organization in his own unit? He was originally a signal officer.

"The important thing is that Hasan 'Izzat proposed Anwar's name for membership in the air corps organization. Hasan talked to Wajih Abazah about our getting him in, and Wajih agreed and spoke to me, but I refused. He said 'Let me kiss your hand! I gave him the word!'

"My answer was, 'If he knows you and knows Hasan, who then doesn't he know?' He started with us. At that time we were working against the occupation. Later he and Hasan 'Izzat were arrested in the German case and his relationship with us was severed until Jamal recommended him and he entered the free officers' founding committee in 1951. At that time there were nine of us: Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir, Salah Salim, Jamal Salim, Kamal-al-Din Husayn, Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, Hasan Ibrahim, Anwar al-Sadat and 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi.

"Zakariya, al-Shafi'i, Yusuf Sadiq and 'Abd-al-Mun'im Amin were included after the revolution.

"Yusuf and 'Abd-al-Mun'im then withdrew, and we were then 11."

The Relationship with the Soviets

"You, among 10 people signed a statement requesting President al-Sadat to break off relations with the Soviets. What do you say about that?"

"The first part is correct. That was the signing of a statement that was sent to al-Sadat on 4 April 1972. Signing it were Kamal-al-Din Husayn, Ahmad 'Abduh al-Sharbasi, 'Isam Hassunah the former minister of justice, Madkur Abu-al-'Izz, 'Abd-al-Khaliq al-Shinnawi, Ahmad Kamal Abu al-Futuh (the former governor of al-Qalyubiyah), Dr Rashwan Fahmi, the former head of the Doctors' Union, Salah Dassuqi, the former governor of Cairo, Dr Mustafa Khalil, the current vice chairman of the National Party, and I.

"The second half is not correct, because in the statement, after I had failed to meet him for a whole month, we requested that he follow a balanced policy between.

the two great powers, especially since what is known as the policy of detente between America and Russia was imminent. We also specified to him that the time had come for Egypt to draw up a policy of national liberation based on the consideration that Egypt's intrinsic powers alone should be the main foundation for this policy and that calculations on the national liberation struggle had to be reviewed under the aegis of the resources of Egypt alone.

"The United States, one of the two major powers, was also giving Israel enough aid to allow it to insist on committing aggression and to encourage it to commit more.

"The Soviet Union, the other major power, was giving us aid of a volume which, up to today, would not allow us to liberate territory and regain our rights.

"We said that all nationalistic personalities known for their allegiance to Egypt and the 23 July revolution must be called upon to discuss the affairs of the nation as a whole and a proposal planning the policy of the national liberation struggle."

July and Lebanon!

I asked, "What is going on in Lebanon, and what is Egypt's role regarding the Palestinian revolution? What is its position on the July revolution?"

He stated, "Camp David has frozen Egypt as far as Arab causes go. If Israel attacks Syria tomorrow we will not be able to do anything, because Egypt's position vis-a-vis Syria will be the same as Egypt's position vis-a-vis Lebanon, although a joint defense agreement exists, in accordance with the Arab League charter.

"However, Camp David has abrogated the joint defense agreement; it is based on the isolation of Egypt in the Arab sense. Consequently, Israel and world Zionism can act as they like in the area. What is happening in Lebanon is part of the American-Zionist scheme."

"Did Egypt enter the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 to defend the cause of Palestine?"

He stated emphatically, "No, Egypt did not enter on anyone's behalf but on its own. In 1948 Egypt basically entered the war on account of Faruq's designs on Palestine, with the condition that King 'Abdallah would get part of Palestine. In 1956 the canal was nationalized and the aggression was launched to annihilate the Egyptian revolution in the area. In 1967, we acted on the premise that there were masses of troops mobilized against Syria, which there were not--the objective was to regain Sharm al-Shaykh and refuse to permit Israeli shipping to pass through the strait. In 1973 the objective was to regain territory."

I asked, "Didn't you and your colleagues in the Revolutionary Command Council think of urging President Mubarak to get Egypt to take a more active position on what is going on in Lebanon?"

He said, "No, because of statements by the prime minister and officials, which are expressive of the government's approach. Should we be urging people in a

situation where one ought to take more positive steps, at least freezing relations and withdrawing the Egyptian ambassador?

"Egypt ought to have acted, since it is the leader of the Arab world, and have called for an Arab summit conference from the very beginning.

"Let me wonder: where do our interests lie?"

The Meaning of Talk

I asked, "What do these dates mean:

"9-10 June 1967?"

He said, "The people's insistence on retaining Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir."

"And 18-19 January 1977?"

"That was a popular insurrection--and I said so to Anwar al-Sadat at the time."

"And 3 September 1981?"

"That was the day Anwar al-Sadat sensed a profound weakness, was shaken and felt that the opposition was forming ranks to oppose him."

"And 6 October 1981?"

"That was a reaction to what was going on in Egypt."

Muhyi-al-Din Refuses Full Comment

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 6

/Text/ Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din is one of the people who launched the July revolution. He worked in a number of executive and policy positions after 1952 until he rose to be prime minister of Egypt in 1968. He then retired.

Over the past 14 years he has not once appeared in public life, except to participate with his fellow Revolutionary Command Council members in preparing memoranda on a number of subjects, which they sent to Anwar al-Sadat. The first memorandum was on 28 September 1970, the day of 'Abd-al-Nasir's death. Then there was a second memorandum on 4 April 1972 in which they warned against international detente at the expense of the will of the peoples of the third world. Then there were two memoranda during the Camp David negotiations in which they condemned the negotiations and warned the late President of the consequences that would result from them. As usual, al-Sadat became angry and described his comrades in arms and companions along the journey of the revolution as "bats."

Except for that, Zakariya Muhi-al-Din has absolutely not talked to the press at all, Egyptian or foreign, and no one has been able to get him to emerge from his silence.

As he told me, "The time has not yet come for me to talk about my experiences, although I have been intending to prepare an outline for my memoirs and hope to start writing them soon."

Zakariya Muhyi-al-Din still enjoys a youthful vitality. He pursues his normal life as an Egyptian citizen; as he says, "I have done my national duty."

Our attempt to get him to come out of his silence was not a success. However, his comment was "AL-AHALI is the only bright spot in our press and the day I decide to talk I promise that my first interview will be for AL-AHLI's beloved readers." However, I have prepared this special greeting on the occasion of the passage of 30 years since the July revolution. I send this to the great people of Egypt, in the belief and acknowledgment of their genuine nature."

This is the text of the statement:

"On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the 23 July revolution, I offer our great people greetings and salutations, since they have recorded their genuine nature, their loyalty, their total awareness and their ability to distinguish between the forces that are aligned with their interests and those which wish to deceive them and delay their progress over the ages.

"My advice to the young people of the Egypt of the future, from a man who has performed a modest effort in the July revolution and has participated in some of its events--and my advice also to everyone who has experienced, and the people who were not given an opportunity to attend this great event--is to preserve its principles, ideas and aspirations, because it is an object of pride for the people of Egypt who launched it and, through it, established their power on the local and international levels. It is a bright point which we are proud of in our history.

"It is enough for us to mention that the fact that the event, in itself, took place, the ideas and principles it declared, and then the just, careful application in its initial period, were the object of the Egyptian people's unanimous agreement.

"I say this in my confidence in this people and their ability to correct their course and emerge from the difficult circumstances they are passing through, especially in social and economic areas, because the events of history, recent history in particular, are nothing but provisions by which we outfit ourselves and realize our will for a better, more dignified life."

'Ali Sabri Defends Socialism

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 7

/Text/ During the celebration of the international holiday on 1 May 1971, as former president Anwar al-Sadat was giving his speech in the city of Hilwan, he launched a violent attack against a number of his partners in power, whom he described as "power centers."

In the evening, he issued his decree dismissing the vice president, 'Ali Sabri, from his position.

The speech, and the decree dismissing 'Ali Sabri, were a prelude--whose significance some people realized and others misunderstood--to the events of 13 /sic/ May, which resulted in al-Sadat's monopolization of power and the establishment of a new regime and a new government which turned its back on the Nasirist 23 July revolution.

It was no coincidence that al-Sadat started preparing to establish the new regime by removing 'Ali Sabri from power then confining him to his residence, imprisoning him and trying him before an exceptional court which had no judiciary nature but sentenced him to death--a sentence which was later changed to hard labor for life.

'Ali Sabri is just like his friends and aides in that he is one of a few people who played a prominent ongoing role since 23 July 1952, throughout the regime of the late leader Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. He was one of the personalities who were closest to 'Abd-al-Nasir and provoked disputes, debates and arguments.

He was one of the few people who underwent prison and refused to write anything to the former president as a price for his release.

Since 'Ali Sabri came out of prison, he has elected to remain silent, in spite of the great deal he has to say.

Of course the man has his reasons, which we can only respect.

On the 30th anniversary of the 23 July revolution, 'Ali Sabri came partially out of his silence to speak about a single subject, which he chose. This is more a conversation about the future than about the past.

What does 'Ali Sabri say in 1982 about the sixties and seventies?

The Socialist Option

Since the start of the revolution, there have been six principles, which the free officers who had carried out the revolution the night of 23 July 1952 set forth. Among these principles were the elimination of feudalism and the control of the regime by capital, and the establishment of social justice. These principles were just general slogans and they did not enter into the details of things, or into ways of applying these slogans.

The national cause was a vivid, urgent one in the minds of every citizen. It was embodied in the British occupation, and there was no dispute over that. People even considered the social oppression, and the all-encompassing sense of it, to be one of the consequences of the British occupation, that is, a peripheral area of the national cause.

With respect to Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, I believe that his choice of socialism was specific and preceded the revolution. However, he did not want to go far beyond

the facts as far as either the group that participated with him in preparing for and carrying out the revolution or the people as a whole were concerned. I do not believe that I am stretching the facts when I say that if 'Abd-al-Nasir had declared the socialist option at the beginning of the revolution, a large number of his partners would not have participated with him at all. In fact, the people themselves would not have been prepared to accept the word "socialism." A leader who believes in socialism must persuade everyone, through practical proof and experience, that the only road is the road to socialism.

Nonetheless, the July revolution's social position was clear from the beginning of September 1952 when the Agrarian Reform Law was passed.

Social Reforms

In the framework of heated national struggle, some social reforms took place, such as the Agrarian Reform Law. The royal family's property which had been confiscated was used to offer some basic services, such as the rural drinking water project. However, this remained a purely reformist process because of the circumstances of the political struggle of liberation from British occupation. In 1956 it became clear that the revolution had to orient itself toward the attainment of a tangible increase in production; without that, it would not be possible to realize any increase in income or improvement in the masses' standard of living. We had two basic areas to choose from: agriculture, which has been the Egyptians' basic area of activity for thousands of years and in which we have broad practice and experience, and industry, which is the new field we had to break into.

As regards agriculture, it was not possible to depend on that to achieve the progress we aspired to.

It is true that there was self-sufficiency in agriculture in Egypt, but increasing agricultural output would represent an increase in domestic capital which could be used in industry.

When America and the World Bank withdrew the offer to finance the construction of the High Dam, they realized that the issue was not just one of increasing the agricultural area or generating electricity but that it was a challenge to the revolution's will to attain its main goals of welfare for the individual and society.

The act of nationalization of the canal came about not just as a reaction to the act of withdrawing the High Dam financing but also basically as a counterattack against the colonialist attack on us. It was also an important indication of the bond between the cause of development in Egypt and the need to eliminate the military occupation, that is, the elimination of another form of occupation which was present and existed, namely the economic occupation of Egypt, which was a more violent and vicious occupation.

In 1958 we had become convinced that it was out of the question to engage in partial planning but that it was necessary to pursue comprehensive planning. We had to begin without previous expertise, without even a statistical agency. These are the basic processes that precede the laying out of any plan.

Therefore, as a matter of practical experience, not just intellectual conviction, it was necessary that national savings and the means of production be subject to state control. Here nationalization was a necessity; on the basis of it, the socialist laws were issued in July 1961 in order to attain the goals of the plan. Without these laws it would not have been possible to carry out any plan.

Naturally, the plan had an obvious social goal; the plan was not just to increase production at the beginning. When the first draft of the plan, which was prepared by a small agency headed by Mr 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi, was set out, it assumed the doubling of national income in 20 years. That meant that the masses would not feel any real change in their standard of living--at that time the average income was about 50 pounds, and, if that had doubled in 20 years, it would have been about 100 pounds per capita in 1979. That would mean that if the social developments and economic upsurge taking place in the whole world were taken into consideration, we would be regressing relative to the rest of the world.

The first draft of the plan was rejected, and a political decision was made that income should double in 10 years, that labor should increase to a large volume to absorb the new manpower that would enter the employment market, and also that surplus labor should be absorbed in agriculture and so forth.

The Problems of the Plan

We came up against many problems in carrying out the first 5-year plan. In the first 2 years of the plan, execution was much slower than had been stipulated. Ultimately the plan would be an expression of its accumulated years, and all deficiencies at the outset would of necessity be reflected in redoubled form in following years. Therefore in the last 3 years of the plan it took a very strong push to make up for what had happened before and to realize the goal.

For example, the High Dam project was delayed 2 years at the outset. The reason was the absence of welders (welding in the dam is a matter of great precision and takes skilled laborers). We set up centers to mobilize all the welders in the country, but they were not sufficient in number to carry out the project and carry out the operation of welding reinforcement iron for the tunnels. We were short 100 welders. We set them to be trained in the Soviet Union.

"Likewise, the Soviet equipment that was brought in to break rocks came up against the particular nature of the Aswan granite rock, which has no equivalent in the world, and made the excavators break down. The Soviet Union was compelled to design special excavators that were suited to crushing this granite and working in temperatures of 50 degrees centigrade.

Nonetheless, the High Dam was built on time--indeed, 6 months ahead of time.

There is no dispute that the July 1961 laws were a basic turning point. On their basis, an objective separation process occurred in the leadership. People who were not in agreement with the new directives elected to leave their positions in the leadership. No one asked them to do so. However, the socialist July laws of 1961 and those that followed underlined to them the revolution's new tendency and the

fact that it was a continuous process, and they themselves, in keeping with their social and political status, decided not to share in responsibility in the new stage. Whatever the disputes with them might have been, their position commands respect and appreciation, contrary to that of others who stayed in their positions in spite of their hostility to socialism.

No New Capitalism

It is not true that the development plan, and the process of socialist transformation in the sixties, produced a new capitalist class which was the fundamental base of the apostasy after 15 May and the growth of parasitic capitalism. In no review of the names of the millionaires of today, along with the names of the people who were involved in the nationalization decrees of the sixties or the names of the leaders who played a basic role in carrying out the big projects in the sixties will we find any connection among them. The production leaders in the sixties amassed no capital for themselves. We all know how the millionaires are manifesting themselves nowadays, and who they are.

What happened in the seventies is related to the change in the role and leadership of the state.

Consumerist Tendencies

I disagree completely with people who say that consumerist tendencies infiltrated into Egyptian society in the course of the sixties.

Of course planning in Egypt did not commit itself to strict rules, in terms of the need to start with heavy, then intermediate, then consumer industries. We were realistic, and took two factors into consideration. The first is historic: the great majority of the people had been deprived of the basic elements of life for a long time. I cannot ask people to wait 10 years before feeling any improvement in their daily life.

The second is the nature of interlinkage in the world of today, the international circumstances surrounding us, and the enemies lying in wait against us. Had we not made citizens feel a continuous degree of improvement in their style of living, they would have been easy prey for colonialist propaganda, especially since socialist thinking had not become crystallized among the people.

However, this is one thing, and speaking of the development of consumerist tendencies is something else.

Subsidies, in the context of planning, were not a burden on the government. To the contrary, the price subsidization fund, which was called the "price equilibrium" fund, financed the plan. It was in society's interests that the price of a disc of bread remain at 5 milliemes although it cost 15 milliemes. Let me impose an extra piaster on the tea I import. As for cigarettes, let the people who want to smoke pay an extra piaster per pack; the receipts can be used to reduce the price of lentils and fava beans, that is, the people's basic food.

The price equilibrium fund in the sixties realized a surplus.

Therefore we did not have what are known as allocations for subsidies of the kind people are talking about now. In the framework of a socialist society and planning, the budget does not pay for anything. But to have the revenues derived from duties and taxes go to the treasury, then say that the budget is facing a deficit as a result of subsidies, is improper. It is the people themselves who pay for the subsidies.

Radwan Supports Nasir's Policies

Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 7

/Article by Ahmad Husni/

/Text/ Prof Fathi Radwan does not need to be introduced in a traditional way. The 1981 speech on "The Egyptian Black September" has singled him out as one of al-Sadat's severest opponents. His biography prior to the revolution represents a noble page in the Egyptian struggle against the monarchy and the occupation. He is one of the founders of the "Piaster Plan" and the Young Egypt movement, from which he broke off at the start of the fifties to found the National Party and issue the magazine AL-LIWA' AL-JADID. When the July revolution occurred, it invited him to take part in the formation of a revolutionary government. He held the posts of minister of communications, national guidance, culture, tourism, antiquities and broadcasting. Then he left the cabinet at the end of the fifties, engaged in literary pursuits and removed himself entirely from political activity until the end of the seventies, when he returned to positions of opposition and produced his articles in the newspaper AL-SHA'B, with the same intense pitch that had been in his articles against the occupation and tyranny before the revolution.

/Question/ How did Prof Fathi Radwan's relationship with the leader of the July revolution, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, begin?

/Answer/ My relationship with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir began before I became acquainted with him personally. This is because when he was a pupil in secondary school he paid visits to the Young Egypt Party, and I was that party's secretary general.

When I met the Revolutionary Command Council members in September 1952, 'Abd-al-Nasir was sitting alongside me. He informed me that he would be the first person to sit down in the front row when I was lecturing in the party. He continued to pay close attention to my lectures for a long time. He was a member of the Bab al-Sha'ri-yah branch, which the journalist Muhammad Sabih headed. That was my first meeting with 'Abd-al-Nasir.

/Question/ How was the first government of the revolution formed?

/Answer/ After this meeting ended, I went back to Cairo and severed my ties with the revolution. I decided to devote myself to my work as a lawyer and discontinue my political activity, because I considered that the removal of the king and the fall of the monarchy were the beginning of the real job, and that it had become

right to devote myself to my private work. At that time I felt that the fruits of our struggle had been realized. I actually did go to Ra's al-Barr when 'Ali Mahir's cabinet was in being. I did not talk to anyone about that cabinet or anything else. After I came back from Ra's al-Barr I met with 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Najjar by chance at the Heliopolis Club. He recognized me on his own; he was an officer in army intelligence. He told me that the Revolutionary Council members wanted to meet me so that I could present my ideas, my notions and my recommendations. He set a date for me with 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir and Jamal Salim. After these two meetings, I met with the revolutionary command as a group and set out my ideas. I told them frankly, "You have handed the keys of the cupboard over to the cat."

The Revolutionary Cabinet

/Question/ Didn't you counsel a specific political approach or a specific party for taking over the government?

/Answer/ Not at all. The only thing I specified was that the *modus operandi* must change first of all. 'Ali Mahir's cabinet was not revolutionary--indeed, it was against the revolution. It was necessary first and foremost to get rid of this cabinet. Secondly it was necessary that a cabinet be composed of nationalistic young people who had previous experience in political affairs who had been arrested and who had suffered during the struggle, as well as people who had technical ability. They would be the people who could inculcate a new spirit and new blood into the revolutionary government. I also presented a number of ideas--planning broadcasting, changing views about the press and administrative reform--not speaking from a party perspective. They immediately said, "We will dismiss 'Ali Mahir."

/Question/ Did you choose the Ministry of National Guidance or was it assigned to you?

/Answer/ When the cabinet was formed, I recommended that some ministries be formed, including the Ministry of National Guidance and the Ministry of Culture. However, at the start I realized that they would assign me the Ministry of Social Affairs, but the Americans' agents protested, complained and said that the Ministry of Social Affairs was a very sensitive one, because the workers were subject to it; they said "Fathi Radwan is a communist and we do not agree that a ministry that sensitive should be assigned to him." The matter was resolved by my working for a while at the beginning as a minister of state, that is, a minister without a ministry, engaged in setting forth the general organization of the government and what ought to be done. Then after that things settled down and I took charge of National Guidance.

The National Party in the Revolutionary Government

/Question/ Najib's cabinet consisted of representatives of three bodies--seven ministers from the old National Party, five majors and two people from the Moslem Brothers. This composition prompted some people to imagine that the National Party tried to monopolize the first revolutionary government.

/Answer/ It was not true that any conversation took place between me and 'Abd-al-Nasir, 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Amir or anyone else on attempts to get the National Party to monopolize the cabinet. No one told me implicitly or explicitly that the National Party wanted to co-opt the revolution. They just expressed their views on existing ministers and demonstrated their dissatisfaction with the personalities of the ministers.

My Relationship with 'Abd-al-Nasir

/Question/ However, other political forces felt this. For instance, the Moslem Brothers.

/Answer/ I would like to mention here that my relationship with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was a very strong and good one. He was extremely fond of me. He would come to me without appointments and sit down for long hours at my house. We would even talk about his personal affairs.

Here I can assert that all throughout my relationship with him, he had no doubts about my intentions and was not at all afraid of these intentions--no such notions entered his mind or those of his colleagues. That may be attributed to the fact that I was sincere in my intention not to co-opt the revolution or enlist it on behalf of my personal or party interests. The Moslem Brothers were distressed with me because they had been in contact with 'Abd-al-Nasir before the revolution and he used to visit them; they were surprised, after the revolution and 'Abd-al-Nasir's assumption of power, to find that they were not close to him but that I was.

The March Crisis

/Question/ This leads us to talk about the March 1954 crisis; here we would like to learn about Fathi Radwan's position and that of the National Party on this notorious crisis.

/Answer/ At the beginning, it was clear that it would be impossible for our ship to advance, because the British were against it, the Americans were against it, and the cliques of the old regime were fighting it. In addition, there were severe disputes among the officers themselves, and some of them were personal.

My position, specifically, was that the gap in the dispute between 'Abd-al-Nasir and Najib should not widen. At that moment, my ties with both of them were very good. It was my desire that a true reconciliation should occur, not a surface one, because I knew that Muhammad Najib was good-hearted and well-intentioned to the point of naivety and had popular appeal at a time when 'Abd-al-Nasir was characterized as a person who made arrangements, thought deeply and planned carefully and that if those two people joined forces it would be possible to form a popular government out of that combination that was beloved by the people, which would have a thinking mind, that of Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, a very sound nationalist and man of integrity, and an acceptable, popular side, which was Muhammad Najib. However, it appears that the relationship between the two of them became completely ruined. From the outset, I considered that Muhammad Najib was not an adversary and that

was very easy to eliminate him. All it entailed was the fact that his power arose from the people behind him; those were the people who were exploiting him, and they were very dangerous. Some of them were Wafdists; the others were the British.

'Abd-al-Nasir Saved the Revolution in March

/Question/ An accusation has been made against 'Abd-al-Nasir that he claimed that the workers held the demonstrations.

/Answer/ It was 'Abd-al-Nasir who contrived the workers' incidents. He used the workers as a means to strike out at his adversaries, and he succeeded. That measure was brilliant, skilful and proficient, and it saved the revolution. 'Abd-al-Nasir was the sole decisionmaker and organizer. The others were not competing with him at that stage. They had not reached the degree of maturity and consciousness that 'Abd-al-Nasir had at that time. There was an implicit acknowledgment that 'Abd-al-Nasir was the greatest of them and their leader, and therefore he was the person who did the planning.

/Question/ A charge has been made that you agreed to the dissolution of the parties, including the National Party, in 1954, in the hope that the party would be reconstituted and would participate in the government.

/Answer/ I agreed to the dissolution of all the parties for one reason, which was that I believed, on the basis of logic, that it was a revolution, and that parties were not possible. A revolution so comprehensive, that expelled the king, ended feudalism, nationalized, expelled the British and struck down the old classes which were the bulwark of the old regime could not happen in the presence of parties, because parties mean discussions and recommendations, which could not take place in the context of the flareup that was occurring. That was not to sacrifice democracy, because no power could stand up to the force which ran the revolution, which was the army, embodied in Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. After the nationalization, I had my own opinion on democracy.

/Question/ Social change proceeded at a slow pace from 9 September 1952 to the July socialist laws. Some people say that the mentality of the National Party members in the cabinet to some degree was oriented toward gradualism, which was to say that social change did not keep abreast of the revolutionary movement.

/Answer/ The answer to that is that first after a few months the only National Party members who remained in the cabinet were Fathi Radwan and Nur-al-Din Tarráf, which proves that the influence of the National Party men from the numerical standpoint had ended, and second, my struggle before the revolution shows that I was always on the side of social development and not against it. For example, the law on arbitrary dismissal, a law that is vexing to employers to this day. This law consists of a transcription of guidelines to the draft of a law which I published in the newspaper AL-AKHBAR as a decree on the National Party's part before the revolution occurred. Also there is the matter of the amendment to the law on customary provisions. Since 1923, that had been amended only in 1956; I was the one who amended it and made of the text that now exists an innovation of my own. That is that imprisoned persons have the right to protest the imprisonment before the court

and can resubmit this protest before the court. If the president objects, the matter can be sent back to the court in a specific time. Had I not done that, the law would have remained as it was.

A Dispute on Application, Not on Principles

/Question/ The July revolution's foreign policy started to crystallize in the first years after it took place. This was apparent in the adherence to the policy of neutrality and nonalignment, then in the revolutionary tide of the countries in the Arab world and the Arab nationalist tide which started to declare itself in 1957.

/Answer/ There was no dispute with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir on the revolution's foreign policy, especially as far as nonalignment went. Rather, all that was involved was that this sort of policy required study and persuasion. For example, some ministers did not know the extent of nonalignment, because there was not one discussion on nonalignment in the Cabinet, while I was in it; this disturbed me.

As regards the national approach, I am without a doubt a partisan of Arab thinking, and I considered it a very mature stage of Arab thinking. My objections were just over the application, not the principle; the way of dealing with the matter.

Why I Left the Cabinet

/Question/ So what is the real reason why you left the cabinet?

/Answer/ Most succinctly, I left for two reasons. The first reason was that series of acts were committed in the Cabinet in the desire to provoke me by people around Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. They tried to upset me. One day it happened that I heard the news on the radio that the Tourist Department had been merged into the Ministry of Finance; the Tourist Department had been under me. I was concerned not whether a department went one place or another, but by the way in which this measure was carried out. Assume that I unknowingly went to investigate the Tourist Department when it was not under my jurisdiction! I was surprised when we were at a Council of Ministers' meeting to find that the radio budget had become subordinate to the Office of the President, so that that meant the radio was no longer one of my areas of competence.

/Question/ How do you explain these provocative acts?

/Answer/ This provocation took place for three reasons. The first was that I was one person who did not complain to 'Abd-al-Nasir about the behavior of the people around him. The second reason was that everyone around 'Abd-al-Nasir was upset with me, whether they were senior officials like 'Abd-al-Qadir Hatim or Hammad or ministers like Kamal-al-Din Husayn or 'Abd-al-Latif al-Baghdadi, because I clashed with each one of them. The third reason was that 'Abd-al-Nasir was not won over to my policies on some issues, among them the matter related to democracy, because I considered, especially after the nationalization of the canal, that we should go down into the streets in free elections, and win.

/Question/ Win what?

/Answer/ The whole people, because I told him that we had done things that others had not done, and the National Union should enter these elections, but with better personnel than those who existed. I considered that the achievements of the revolution, in terms of expelling the king and the British, agrarian reform, the nationalizations, and so forth, that these massive achievements would qualify us for that. However, 'Abd-al-Nasir considered that I was more optimistic than need be.

/Question/ What about the second reason for Prof Fathi Radwan's departure from the revolutionary government?

/Answer/ I said that the first reason was the desire to provoke me on the part of people around 'Abd-al-Nasir. The second reason, in general, was the method of choosing men, how that was done and how cabinets were formed. For example, the day 'Aziz Sidqi and Mustafa Khalil came into the Council of Ministers' chamber, no one knew them; they had no history that we knew of. Then they became government leaders without our sitting down with them or getting to know them. I always said that the selection of ministers should not take place in this manner. Here I might point out that Kamal Rif'at was minister of religious endowments, then 'Abdallah Tu'aymah was appointed to be it without Rif'at's knowledge. The two met one another in the ministry the same day!

When 'Abd-al-Nasir visited me at my home, I described these objections to him and told him my viewpoint. After I left the cabinet, I severed my contacts with the people in it entirely, and 'Abd-al-Nasir stopped paying me visits.

/Question/ Since you were very close to President 'Abd-al-Nasir, you can talk to us about his financial irregularities.

/Answer/ Actually, I cannot talk about specific facts, because I have no checks or written documents at my disposal. I have no right to talk about specific aspects of 'Abd-al-Nasir's irregularities, because I saw and heard nothing on this subject at all. Rather, I can assert to you that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir is free of suspicion. He is a man whose hands were clean. His life was simple and he did not involve himself in one illegal piaster of irregular conduct. Biased people like 'Uthman Ahmad 'Uthman do not have any right at all to talk about irregularities, not irregularities of 'Abd-al-Nasir's or even of the devil's.

Not an Adversary and Not a Supporter

/Question/ Prof Fathi Radwan has not recorded any position, negative or positive, on the revolution since he left political activity.

/Answer/ For two reasons. First, I was not against the revolution. Therefore it was not one of my goals to write against it. Nor was I 100 percent satisfied with what was going on in order to support everything that did happen. That is, I did not reach a degree of adversity where I should make an attack, and I did not reach a degree of conviction where I should give support.

/Question/ And the second reason?

/Answer/ That was that I did not want to return to political life. I devoted myself to writing, translating and literature. During this period I authored more than 40 books and I was very satisfied and content. I also turned down all the cases that were presented to me from every direction; I turned down ordinary Council of State cases.

11887

CSO: 4504/436

MISUSE OF GOVERNMENT LAND

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 708, 9 Aug 82 pp 24-25

[Article by 'Adil Ibrahim: "Secret Government Report on Land Theft and Abuses; Facts Point to Abuse of Government Ownership; Land Theft Siphoned Off 2 Million Square Meters for Construction; Government Lost 12 Million Pounds Due to Not Selling and Leasing its Land"]

[Text] In every province, the abuse of government properties still continues year after year, while the wait goes on for decisive and serious actions and periodic follow-up for each element of abuse, and to put an end to them.

If the cabinet had issued strict instructions to the governors about the need to prepare a bi-monthly report of the actions to combat the abuses against government lands in each province, the Central Accounting Office's secret report about financial surveillance over the provinces, during the past fiscal year, confirmed that the area of land being abused is about 2 million square meters of construction land and 419 cultivated feddans. Moreover, the government has lost 12 million pounds in compensation for the use or sale of lands which have not been consummated.

The Accounting Office uncovered facts indicating abuses against government property in all the provinces. The following points were made clear:

In Cairo: Most of the abuse of government property was in the two areas of Salah Salim and al-Fustat al-Jadidah. The acreage amounted to 1,505,852 square meters, aside from unsuitable prices for the sale of leasing of some land in al-Saydah and Misr al-Qadimah and the non-reevaluation of leased lands regarding defining the contracts. The Governorate of Cairo reported that the amounts owed were confined to operators. It amounted to 10,625,047 pounds, of which only 315,078 pounds were collected.

The accounting bureau also revealed that the operators of some casinos have exceeded the acreage licensed to them for exploitation.

It was clear that some private sector theatrical groups had got their hands on the Institute of Music's building on Ramses Street, owned by the Governorate of Cairo, without any right to it. In 1974, presidential decree number 520 was issued leasing this building to the Higher Institute for Arab Music,

which is subordinate to the Academy of Arts in the Ministry of Culture and Information. The rent was a nominal 100 piasters a year for a period of 10 years. Evidently the institute moved to its current building in the city of al-Fanun Bil-Haram in 1977. Instead of the Governorate of Cairo taking over this building and using it for its own purposes, it left it to private sector groups, who took possession of it without any right. They rented out two theaters in it for their own benefit.

In Bani Suwayf: The inhabitants abuse state construction, agricultural and storage land, amounting to some 26 feddans of arable land and 137,192 square meters of construction land, having a value of 77,910 pounds. This is being done by local units in the cities of Nasir, al-Wasiti, Samsata and Bani Suwayf.

In al-Isma'iliyah: Many abuses are evident by the inhabitants against lands proscribed for use in agriculture or construction. This amounted to 146,658 square meters and 155 arable feddans. In June 1981, the Governorate acted to eliminate abuses over some 6,860 square meters.

In al-Gharibiyah Province:

The Accounting Office uncovered laxity in disposing of government property, in terms of wet and swampy lands in the Tanta district, whose owners have lost the right to reclaim them, amounting to 68,725 square meters, apart from laxity in obtaining the due payment for their use.

In Suhaj: Many abuses of state property were evident, amounting to about 124,682 square meters in the districts of Dar al-Salam, Jahinah, Jarja and Tahta. The Governorate of Suhaj, on 10 December 1982 [sic] advised that it had formed committees to compute this land, and that it had also held a meeting, attended by the chief of the Egyptian State Commission for Acreage and the chiefs of the districts' local units. The problems had been settled.

In Aswan: Laxity was evident in obtaining government rents (for ground rents) in the city of Aswan, which led to its accumulating year after year, until, from just three companies, it amounted to something like 30,595 pounds (the Arab Aviation Company, the 'Umar Efendi Agencies and the Egyptian Mills Company). The local unit notified the city of Aswan last December that it has seized the Aviation Company's funds on deposit with the Bank of Cairo, amounting to 27,765 pounds. In Alexandria: The Accounting Office uncovered laxity in collecting open space land rents in the al-'Amiriyah quarter, with the total amount in arrears being 384,195 pounds, some of which going back to 1967, without any actions being taken to collect it.

In al-Qalyubiyah:

The Central Accounting Office made it clear that the non-use of some of the local units' property subject that property to abuses, aside from depriving them of the profit for using the property. Evidently, there is some 300 feddans of vacant land owned by the Psychological Health Institute in al-Khanakah, in the Governorate of al-Qalyubiyah, and this land is not used.

The Governorate was advised of that in December 1979, and in following up the matter, it was clear that despite what the governor had previously agreed to regarding the use of this land for several agricultural projects and the establishment of poultry farms and other buildings, nothing has as yet been done. After several exchanges of correspondence regarding the land for which he has been criticized in the city of al-Khanakah, the Governorate of al-Qalyubiyah, on 13 March 1982, advised that the governor had issued decree number 200 on 7 March 1982, forming a broad-based committee to survey and compile all the lands owned by the state, by the office of the local unit for the district and city of al-Khanakah, and to enumerate the abuses in order to take the necessary action.

The Central Accounting Office has issued its recommendations for dealing with abuses against state land and real estate holdings in all of the governorates, demanding expeditious completion of measures to take over land that still can be described as being in the public welfare, including private property. The police should cooperate with these departments in taking actions to take over this land, to enumerate and establish cases of abuses, to seize records establishing the extent of lands owned by the state and to prepare survey maps of them, especially since the local government law number 43 of 1979 transferred to the governorates the authority to protect state property and to eliminate any abuses occurring thereon.

7005

CSO: 4504/465

CURRENCY CIRCULATION SITUATION IN EGYPT

Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI in Arabic No 707, 2 Aug 82 pp 42-43

[Interview with Treasury Chief 'Abd al-Mun'im al-'Arabi by AL-AHRAM AL-IQTISADI; date and place not specified]

[Text] The efforts that the Treasury has made to meet the increased demand for support currency, whether notes or coins during the feasts and holidays, deserves attention, especially since this bureau is still in dire need of developing work methods to meet the difficult small change "crisis."

'Abd al-Mun'im al-'Arabi, chief of the State Treasury, says: "The new plan that the Treasury has adopted includes the issuance of 27 million pounds of support currency in notes. The shares allotted to the subdivisions have been increased in accordance with the increase that suddenly began occurring last February. This is some 18 million pounds, in 10 piaster denomination, printed on the Survey Office presses, and 9 million pounds, in 5 piaster notes, printed on the Post Office presses. The Treasury had issued 9 million pounds in support currency as of last year, and has increased its issue three-fold, in view of the continuous complaints about the lack of this currency.

"As regards coins, the new plan includes the issuance of 2.1 million pounds in one and two piaster pieces, including 1.2 million pounds in 2 piaster denomination, and 900,000 pounds in 1 piaster coins. This is compared to 1.03 million pounds during the last fiscal year.

"It is expected that about 500,000 pounds in 20 piaster coins will be added to this issue."

[Question] What is the size of support currency circulating in the market?

[Answer] The amount of support notes in circulation (5 and 10 piaster notes) up to the end of May 1982, amounted to about 25.5 million pounds, and coins (5 and 10 piaster denomination) was about 18.8 million pounds. As for 1 and 2 piaster and token coins, they amounted to about 7.5 million pounds.

On the occasion of the month of Ramadhan and 'Id al-Fitr, the Treasury issued the following amounts of support currency compared with last year:

Notes, about 3 million pounds compared to about 1.7 million last year.

Bronze coins, about 160,000 pounds compared to 45,000 last year. The size of the shortfall in support currency amounts to about half the value of the issue annually. That occurs through the size of the issue and the withdrawal from the market, i.e., the survival rate of a bank note in the market averaging only 6 months.

It is expected that the machine to shred the used bank notes will begin operation shortly, after completion of its installation in the bureau's headquarters. It will be used to shred the currency instead of its being burned. Consequently, use can be made of the shredded scraps, through recycling. The machine shreds a sack in only 4 seconds.

It is worth pointing out that those employed in the Treasury work under unsuitable conditions, given the enormity of the jobs that they carry out. They do not receive salaries and wages which will protect them from corruption and speculation. As an example, we should point out that the treasurer only receives 3 pounds as a "disability allowance," while a comparable official in the banks would receive between 25 and 150 pounds.

The cashier in the Treasury disburses salaries and pensions for some of the workers in the government. He has a very responsible job. Last June, the Treasury disbursed the following amounts:

213.6 million pounds in salaries for 3,823 individuals
326 million pounds in supplementary wages for 8,999 individuals
131.5 million pounds in pensions for 4,921 individuals
636 million pounds in exchange pensions for 1,765 individuals.

State of the Issue of Support Currency and the Shortfall
and Rates of Withdrawal for the Past 3 Years

Statement	Value in Millions of Pounds				
	1979	1980	1981	total	Average .
Issue	7	7	10	24	8
Shortfall, the equivalent of withdrawal from the market	5,105,125	3,673,215	5,072,005	13,850,345	58.8%
Approximate percentage	73%	52.5%	51%		58.8%

7005

CSO: 4504/464

KHOMEYNI ADVISES ON PURGE OF MINISTRIES, DEPARTMENTS

LD051230 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] The delegation in charge of the reorganization of ministries, government departments and companies connected with the government today met Imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, at Jamaran Mosque. At this meeting the general secretary of the state organization for administration and employment reported on the activities of these delegations. The imam of the nation then spoke, referring to the fact that the purging and reorganization of government departments and organizations is essential and that the formation of such delegations to identify and purge all those who are harmful to the Islamic republic and corrupt is necessary.

He said that careful attention should be paid to this matter, to the various cases and to those who should carry out these duties. The people who are appointed for these jobs should be studied, and their jobs under the former regime, their duties and their work after the fall of that regime should be investigated. There is a possibility that corrupt and deviationist persons might present themselves as supporters of Islam and the soldiers of God. Today, as long as somebody considers himself a Muslim and as committed to the movement, this should be accepted, but he should not enter into these matters. Therefore, in appointing people to these delegations there should be no negligence.

As regards the manner in which this work is done, I say that you should avoid going to extremes, you should not say that all those who worked with that regime are corrupt since there were people among them who suffered but were forced to work. But if they have committed any crimes then that is another matter. Just because some one has worked in a ministry or a department or was a member of the corrupt Rastakhiz Party he should not be prejudged. This was obligatory then and that corrupt and unjust man [the shah] said that anyone who did not wish to join the party should leave Iran.

In such an atmosphere even the opponents had no alternative. Some even joined in order to [words indistinct] in the ministries and departments.

The imam added that those who were responsible for corruption, sabotage, bullying and oppression should go, although they might consider themselves as true soldiers of God. Even if these persons have put things right between themselves and God, where the people are concerned there should be no negligence. If the

are persons who complain and sabotage the work then they should be identified and put aside. If someone attended a function where the shah was present, then this evidence of itself does not justify dismissing that person. But if someone was never seen with the shah but he approved his affairs and confirmed his cruelties, then he should not be employed in government departments and offices used by the people.

The leader of the revolution emphasized that all the officials in charge, wherever they might be, should note that Islam's view is that traitors should be dismissed but those who have done something because of fear or force should not be dropped. This is a heavy responsibility. Islamic associations too, although they serve and their services are invaluable, also have many responsibilities. There might be persons who would divert them to act against Islam. It should be noted that some of the corrupt and the hypocrites [Mojahedin-e Khalq] would infiltrate the Islamic associations using tactics and then start a turmoil, God forbid.

Referring to the extensive propaganda campaign by the mass media against the Islamic revolution and Islam, the imam said that at present all the mass media are against Islam. They are not against Iranians, rather, they oppose all those who intend to implement Islam and regard them as harmful. Those governments which rule Islamic countries add fuel to this fire.

Imam Khomeyni, referring to the crimes committed by the Zionist regime in Lebanon said that it is very painful and tragic that, despite all these crimes committed by Israel, those so-called Islamic countries are trying to ratify the anti-Islamic and anti-people's plans of America and recognize the criminal Israel as an independent and committed government. If the countries of the Persian Gulf and the region ratify such a plan, our nation, the armed forces and our guards corps will not forgive them. It might become their religious duty to punish them and they would be punished.

The hope of the oppressed of the world stressed that if each of these so-called Islamic countries vote for plans like the Camp David accord which entail the recognition and independence of criminal Israel, then it might become our religious duty to deal with them in another way.

The imam of the nation, referring to the fact that America's plans do not include only one or two countries and that it is trying to dominate the entire world, said that today is the day when the Muslims should unite and rebuff America. These countries can rest assured that they have the strength and capability to do this.

Referring to the fact that Saddam is a criminal and should be punished and that helping a criminal is in itself a crime, the imam of the Umma emphasized that if there are persons and powers that are trying to end the war without resorting to forceful measures, we are ready too and we have always sought peace. But we cannot leave a criminal to carry on with his crimes in the name of peace. The imam of the nation stressed that I hope that the government of [words indistinct] treats the Iranian pilgrims and the dear ones who are against America and its corrupt followers according to Islam and does not give our government and our nation any cause to worry, since this might prove to be dangerous.

The imam finally emphasized that you gentlemen, members of the delegations in charge of purging and reorganizing government departments, God is supervising and watching you. If you intend to dismiss some one and label him anti-Islamic, you should realise that God is present everywhere and if you make a mistake God might not forgive you.

CSO: 4640/464

FOREIGN MINISTRY COMMUNIQUE ON FES SUMMIT

GF070916 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] The Iranian Foreign Ministry has published a communique on the Arab leaders conference in Fes and the Camp David agreement. Noting the plots and the crimes of the big devil and murderer the United States, the occupying regime of Jerusalem, and the brave and oppressed people of Lebanon and Palestine the communique says: The United States and the occupying regime of Jerusalem, by displaying their responsibility for the [word indistinct] attack on Lebanon, helping their Palestinian friends, and by failing to achieve the goal they set for themselves in this war, have given this conference a great (?opportunity) for the Islamic and Arab nation to discover this cancerous tumor of the Zionist regime, the first and second Camp David plans and any other American plot. It is the responsibility of the leaders of the resistance fronts, especially the leaders of the PLO, to oppose this great treachery by taking a revolutionary and a principled position. It should avoid promising the recognition of the Zionist regime, a result which would only be disgraceful. They should fight the same way they fought over the last 3 months to stop the advancement of American plots.

The Zionist regime does not have any goal except destroying Islam and the Muslims, increasing its leadership in Islamic and Arab countries in the region and [words indistinct]. To achieve this goal it is willing to resort to any treacheries, recognizing this corruption, [words indistinct] is in reality an (?invitation) to occupy the Islamic countries and also to accept all the treacheries that have been done to the oppressed and Muslim citizens of Lebanon and Palestine.

In the communique, the Foreign Ministry also said that it is the duty of the Islamic and the leading countries in the region to overthrow the corrupt regime by relying on the only God, [word indistinct] to the big sea of nations and kindling the bright flames of the holy war. The Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran, after condemning the treacherous plans of Camp David and any other peaceful agreements that will result in recognizing the Zionist regime, announced that putting these American plans on the agenda of the Arab leaders conference in Fes is a major diversion from the religious goal of Palestine and the historical struggles of the Muslim and Arab nations in the region and is a big victory for the world imperialists led by the United States.

The Islamic Republic of Iran, after reminding the reactionary leaders that might not have learned their lesson from the death of Al-Sadat and still are thinking about recognizing corrupt Israel, once again offers the words of the imam of the nation, the great Khomeyni, who said that: The ones that want to recognize Israel should be scared of the day that the nation, army and our Revolution Guards feel [word indistinct] for their adjustment.

CSO: 4640/464

FOREIGN MINISTRY DENOUNCES FES SUMMIT

GF070830 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0700 GMT 7 Sep 82

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has denounced the Fes Arab summit, considering it a way to legitimize the savage U.S.-Zionist aggression against Lebanon and recognize the Zionist entity.

In a statement, the Foreign Ministry called upon the leaders of the steadfastness and confrontation front, and especially the leaders of Palestine, to adopt logical and revolutionary stands in order to confront this high treason. The statement also denounced the Camp David accords and other submissive plans which somehow guarantee the recognition of the Zionist entity because this is a great diversion from the goals and aspirations of the Palestinian people, the historical struggle of the Islamic Arab nation in the region and a great victory for international arrogance led by the United States.

The Foreign Ministry statement further said: An overwhelming silence has gripped the comfortable reactionary regimes during the bombing of Lebanese and Palestinian Muslims by the Zionist forces. An Arab Summit Conference is being held to confront this savage aggression. If the United States had not succeeded in ousting the Palestinian and Syrian forces from Beirut, in collaboration with these regimes, this conference would have never even been held.

The Foreign Ministry affirmed that the Zionist entity has always aimed at destroying Islam and Muslims, spreading its predominance over Islamic and Arab countries in the region and carrying out the "From the Nile to Euphrates" project. The Zionist entity would not hesitate to commit any crime in order to achieve this goal. The Foreign Ministry statement considered the recognition of Israel to be, in reality, official support for the occupation of Islamic territories and for all crimes committed by this entity against the oppressed Muslim Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

Furthermore, the Iranian Foreign Ministry called upon the Islamic and progressive countries in the region for a jihad and struggle in order to destroy the Zionist entity.

CSO: 4604/49

FRIDAY PRAYER SPEAKER DISCUSSES ARAB SUMMIT

GF030942 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0834 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Friday Arabic sermon delivered by Hojjat ol-Eslam Val-Moslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, temporary Tehran Friday imam and Majlis speaker, during Friday prayers at Tehran University on 3 September--live]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Muslim sisters and brothers. Oh heroic Muslim Khuzestani Arabs. A new catastrophe is looming on the horizon following Lebanon's catastrophe. They want to convene a new Arab Summit Conference. It is possible that at this conference they will recognize Israel and recognize the present situation in Lebanon as a fait accompli, and thus commit a new treason in addition to their past traitorous actions. It is also possible that they will exonerate Saddam and the 'Aflaqi Ba'thist Party of the great crimes they have committed to save them from the imbroglio in which they have been embroiled, so that the result will be a Zionist-Phalangist-reactionary domination of the region with the West's assistance and protection [words indistinct] the Zionists, Saddam, Al-Jumayyil, Shah Husayn and Mubarak in the interest of the United States so as to silence all Islamic voices that are defending justice, foremost among which is revolutionary Islamic Iran.

We have repeatedly declared that we support all meetings and talks that will bring about the unity of the Muslim world. We have demonstrated this by our participation in such meetings and conferences. However, we have always maintained that these meetings should be held to defend justice and to wage struggle against the aggressors, and should not be meetings for the sake of protecting aggressors at the expense of Islamic rights and peoples. If at the forthcoming summit conference they want to revive the Camp David accords, or support Fahd's plan, or exonerate Saddam of his enormous crimes--in shedding the blood of thousands of martyrs, creating thousands of disabled people, destroying two Muslim countries and armies, creating the opportunity for losing Lebanon as an assembly center for Palestinian fighters and the domination of Israel and the Phalangists over the area--neither we nor any committed Muslim can ignore this reason. Such a conference can be successful if it declares at the very beginning that its agenda will include the discussion of struggle [jihad] against Israel and punishing Saddam and restoring to Iran its rights. In such a case it should be now announced that Al-Jumayyil, Saddam, Mubarak and the shah of Jordan will not be allowed to participate in this conference--so that the Muslim peoples will not be (?apprehensive) beforehand about the traitorous resolutions

of such a conference. However, all signs, information and experience point to the contrary, and indicate that treason and corruption will take place there. Therefore, the Arabs and Muslims must confront this conspiracy by declaring their opposition beforehand. God always assists the peoples that defend justice. They devise, and God devises, and God is the best of devisers. God's peace and blessings be upon you.

CSO: 4604/49

CLANDESTINE ON KIDNAPPING OF IRANIANS IN LEBANON

NC011201 Voice of Iran [Clandestine] in Persian 1805 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Officials of the Tehran regime have been unable so far to gain any information on the fate of five of their spies in Beirut who have now been missing for 2 months. According to news agencies reports from Lebanon, Khomeyni's new representative in Beirut, Musa Fakhr Rohani, met Lebanon's Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus on Monday. No reports have been published on the topics discussed but informed sources in the Lebanese capital have pointed out that Khomeyni's ambassador has requested the assistance of Fu'ad Butrus in finding and releasing five of Khomeyni's paid spies.

We wish to recall that, about 2 months ago, four of the terrorists employed by Khomeyni's embassy in Beirut were kidnapped by several armed men and were taken to an unknown place. Since then there have been no reports on their fate.

Also, about 1 month ago, the photographer and correspondent of the state newspaper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, who was on his way to Beirut to prepare a report on the Lebanese crisis, suddenly disappeared. The clerical regime's news media immediately blamed the paramilitary Phalangists for the disappearance of Khomeyni's spies but about 10 days ago the Lebanese police authorities published the results of an investigation about these people and proved that they were kidnapped by a group of [word indistinct] opponents of the Islamic regime and taken to an unknown place.

Meanwhile, a report appearing in Beirut's independent newspaper AN-NAHAR states that the correspondent photographer of the clerical JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI newspaper has fled via the port of Juniyah to Europe where he is enjoying himself with a large sum of money that was given to him as travel and mission expenses.

CSO: 4640/464

CLANDESTINE SERVICE CARRIES FLI MESSAGE TO WOMEN

GF011810 Free Voice of Iran [Clandestine] in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] According to our correspondent in Paris, the Front for the Liberation of Iran [FLI] has issued a message to the Iranian women. In the message, the FLI, referring to the compatriot mothers and sisters, states: Our homeland is struggling in blood and unrest. Our Iran smells of death. Thousands of patriotic Iranians have either been killed by the executioners of the ruling regime or are shackled in chains in the prisons. Thousands of Iranian women are dressed in black, mourning for their dear ones and there are very few families who have not lost someone. Even though the executioners are mercilessly making our youth the target of waves of bullets in the name of Islam, even though terror is ruling everywhere, all those who love Iran and fight for freedom are fighting deceit, ignorance and reaction with all their powers.

In this struggle, our girls and women have shown an epical side of the struggle and resistance. Inside the border, our women make unbelievable sacrifices and even though the regime of mullahs has no misgiving about the execution, torture and imprisoning of women, they still continue their ceaseless struggle shoulder to shoulder with the patriotic men.

The FLI message continues: Compatriots, Iranian mothers and sisters, you are well aware that no individual struggle will be successful. One hand is useless. Therefore, for the sake of the liberation of Iran we have to be organized and create a chain of resistance with orderly struggle. We ask all of you, who are worried for your homeland, children, dear ones and your families, to continue your struggle against the regime's bloodsuckers. Hopelessness and indifference in this sensitive and difficult time is a great sin. The FLI, which considers the way to victory to lie in coordination of the nationalist and patriotic groups, considers the participation of women, who comprise half of the society, effective in the reconstruction and recapture of the country. Your cooperation and coordination for the sake of the common aim is necessary. We all know very well how the ruling regime is using the women to implement its reactionary policies as the sources for the creation of feelings and desire. However, it only considers them as concubines in the society and has banned the Iranian women from social activities. A large number of Iranian women have lost their jobs. This joblessness has caused calamities in Iranian families. The Iranian women have been effectively banned from universities. The main [word indistinct] is here since making the Iranian women ignorant means the growth of a generation who will ignorantly and blindly be the slaves of akhundism and reactionary fanaticism.

The regime of mullahs does not want educated mothers or educated and informed women. Iranian sisters and mothers, the FLI, whose aim is to unite the Iranian nation with all those fighting for the liberation, asks you to contact us and write to us about your suffering during the events of the past 3 years. Write to us about what you can do about victory against the Satan of (?ignorance) and the harshness that is ruling our homeland. Iran and the Iranian nation need your help. Each step that is taken for the unity and struggle for the liberation of Iran, if coordinated with other realistic steps, will be beneficial. The FLI is aware of the immense power of the Iranian women, who have received the the largest blow from the regime of mullahs, and we all know that the patriotic Iranian women can be an effective element in the overthrow of the regime of terror and terrorism in Iran.

CSO: 4640/464

HASHEMI-RAFSANJANI ADDRESSES GUARDS CORPS

LD311834 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] The Central News Unit reports that as a continuation of the work of the countrywide seminar of the commanders of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Majlis speaker, attended the meeting of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps commanders last night and made a speech about various issues of the realm. At the beginning, expounding the fundamental role of the forces of the Islamic revolution, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: The revolution has now attracted great forces to its ranks, and this whole in motion is bearing a great message demonstrating a sacred idea for the benefit of deprived humanity. The world aggressors do not find themselves endangered for no reason. This is because the Islamic revolution has become the sole hope and refuge of the world meek.

In connection with the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps' role in fulfilling this mission the Majlis speaker said: The most important thing which has gained honor and prestige for the corps is its sincerity. The Guards Corps is one of the organs which has continuously played a fundamental role in this revolution and you have so far succeeded in attracting immense forces. The corps now enjoys an enviable position and those who harbor animosity toward this revolution are also enemies of the corps.

In conclusion Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, addressing the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps commanders, said: The problems of the job and the difficulties should not make you vacillate. Were it not for the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps and for the revolution courts, counterrevolution would have nothing to fear. Strive to behave in a manner as to make the people love you.

CSO: 4640/464

RADIO IRAN EXAMINES ROLE OF TUDEH PARTY IN IRAN

GF301653 Radio Iran [Clandestine] in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Excerpts] In the events that took place in February [1979] the most remarkable development with regard to the Tudeh Party was the expulsion of the orthodox Marxists and the assumption of power by the group of the hardliners under Nureddin Kianuri.

In fact, this was the last phase of metamorphosis of the Tudeh. It then embarked on a new game with Russian cards in hand. The assets of the party at this stage were the former cadres of the Tudeh on the social level, and on another level, those who remained (?after the) military sacrifices of the party. Following its second debut on the Iranian political scene, the Tudeh Party announced its unquestioning support of Ruhollah Khomeyni. This policy was in complete harmony with the one professed and disseminated by the Soviet propaganda machinery.

With all the cooperation that the Tudeh Party gave to the Khomeyni elements, it did not succeed in presenting a solid opposition. It participated in the Islamic Majlis elections, but the general secretary could not get more than 25 votes. This proved clearly that the party did not enjoy any social popularity and its power depended solely on that of its mentor. On the other hand, with the help of the intelligence machinery of its master, the Tudeh Party was able to render meritorious services to Ruhollah Khomeyni in the elimination of the political adversaries of the Islamic Republic. Among the services rendered by the Tudeh Party to the Islamic Republic were the betrayal of armed opponents, locating pockets of resistance, expansion of the espionage system on the domestic and industrial level and giving extensive support for Khomeyni's propaganda through its governmental and private media.

However, this heyday of popularity ended quickly and the horizon of the Khomeyni-Tudeh relationship became overcast with dark clouds. These services did not directly serve Khomeyni's actual purposes. The war with Iraq, when the Iraqis were entrenched on Iranian soil, prevented the Soviet Union from honoring its friendly agreements with Iraq, but the spread of the war on Iraqi territory removed this impediment and the Soviet Union was not bound to sit back and allow its Western rival to (?creep in). The Soviets warned Imam Khomeyni, before and at the time of the outbreak of the war, against attacking Iraq, but to no avail.

The last resort of the party, and one that was unsuccessful, was to complain about the indifference of the administration. It reminded the imam of its tail-wagging and its services and (?complained) of the arrests of its members, saying that it did not demand their release, but only expected some kindness. Woe to this pioneering party!

An open letter signed by the Central Committee of the party and (?signed) Nureddin Kianuri [words indistinct] notes what the Tudeh Party has left in its basket now. The movement's letter says at the end: from our point of view, there has been no social foothold gained, no feedback from the past because we have lost our (assets) on the gambling table of Imam Khomeyni. As regards our political (?gains) in the administrative machinery of the Islamic republic, they are (?nil). This is the Iran of the progressive and pioneering proletariat... the decimated Tudeh Party of today's Iran...an insolvent party!

CSO: 4640/464

BRIEFS

ANTIREGIME COMMUNIQUE--Compatriots, the National Front of Iran which has set up its headquarters in Paris for the liberation of our country Iran from the despotic domination of the turbaned (fiends) has issued an important message to our compatriots. In this message the National Front of Iran has asked all social groups in Iran--men, women, young people, school and university students, bazaar merchants, employees and workers and patriotic tribal brothers--in the sacred name of Iran not to leave their homes on 31 August from dawn until 1600 as a sign of protest and as a vote of no-confidence for the Velayat-e Faqih system which has given them nothing but executions and massacres, war and homelessness, a lack of security and peace, unemployment and high prices and has not given (?Iran any way to turn). This appeal does not apply to military personnel. In the message the National Front of Iran said that this (?appeal) is in response to intense demands and it is our duty, in light of past experience, and under the aegis of unity and solidarity, to end the present despicable situation in Iran with courage and fortitude. The National Front of Iran has not yet announced the date for the armed forces to join the masses in the struggle to overthrow the regime. This will be announced later. All compatriots and listeners of the Free Voice of Iran are requested to pass our message to other compatriots. [Text] [GF272004 Free Voice of Iran [Clandestine] in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 27 Aug 82]

RAFSANJANI ON LEBANON, KORDESTAN REBELS--Tehran, Aug 31, IRNA--Majlis speaker, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, Monday, criticised Muslim Ulema around the world for their silence over the Zionist aggression in Lebanon. "All the Ulema are silent in the world. Al-Azhar (Theological University in Cairo) is silent, the universities in Al-Madinah are silent and the Iraqi Ulema are not speaking" Rafsanjani said. The Majlis speaker, who was speaking in a meeting with the Friday prayers leader of Paveh in Bakhtaran Province, Mullah Qader Qaderi, said that those who claimed to have an Islamic government and those who claimed to be the servants of the holy Islamic shrines had joined in the conspiracy along with the Zionists in massacring the Muslims in Lebanon. "Such a great crime has been committed (by the Zionists) and they (the reactionary regimes) act as if nothing has happened," Rafsanjani said. He added that along with their humiliating policy towards the massacre of the Lebanese and Palestinian people, the reactionary Arab governments had even gathered to ratify the "Fahd plan," which called for the recognition of the Zionist regime. Concerning events in the Kordestan region, Rafsanjani said that the rebels fighting against the Islamic republic there were lying about their true intent. He said that the rebels were separatists despite their claims stating otherwise. Kordestan, he added, was

one of the poorest regions of the country and he said that it was the responsibility of the Islamic republic to surmount the problems there. [Text]
[GF311947 Tehran IRNA in English 1700 GMT 31 Aug 82]

ANTIREGIME OPERATIONS IN AMOL--"Bloody incidents have once again occurred in the Mazandaran Province. According to reports, these bloody incidents followed anti-regime demonstrations in the cities of Amol and Babol, where the people chanted slogans calling Khomeyni the (?new) Eichman. We do not have details on this new antiregime movement yet, but it is said that these operations were led by the nationalist and monarchist combatants of the 'Sarbedaran Group' and that the regime's Revolution Guards opened fire at the people, 'killing or wounding several.'" The Sarbedaran Group announced its formation on 25 and 26 January with the incidents in Amol, during which it exhibited its combative strength by occupying the Revolution Guards' headquarters and other government buildings. We will keep our listeners informed by giving more details of the Amol and Babol incidents as soon as they are available. [Summary from poor reception] [NC011029 Voice of Iran [Clandestine] in Persian 1805 GMT 31 Aug 82]

PFLP-TUDEH PARTY LINKS--According to certain news agencies [not named], during the battle of Beirut, documents were captured showing connections between certain Palestinian groups and the Tudeh Party of Iran and plans to send certain persons from Iran to receive terrorist training at the Lebanese military camps. (?One should recall) events during the past year [words indistinct] that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] sent eight officers who had been trained in the USSR to Tehran to train Tudeh Party members. We remind you that (?a year ago) George Habash, leader of the PFLP, paid a secret visit to Khuzistan Province in Iran. (?According to these documents) he held talks with the officials of the mullah regime. According to another document recovered, later, on 1 August of last year, 25 Iranians arrived at the PFLP camps to learn terrorism and sabotage. (?Accordingly), they underwent terrorist training along with other groups from the so-called Islamic countries and (?guerrillas) from all countries in the Third World. However, Khomeyni and his criminal mullahs hide these facts and outwardly oppose terrorists. In fact, they call others terrorists. Probably, terrorist destruction used for the benefit of Khomeyni's Islam is justified in their view. [Text] [GF312119 Radio Iran [Clandestine] in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 31 Aug 82]

SHELLING OF ABADAN--According to a report by the Central News Unit in Abadan the resistant and martyr-nurturing city of Abadan was shelled repeatedly during the past 24 hours by the mercenary Ba'thist forces. As a result of the enemy shelling, which hit residential areas, 5 of our innocent Abadani compatriots were martyred and another 25 wounded. The criminal act by the Ba'thist mercenaries also destroyed several houses. The report stated that the bravery of the defenders of the Islamic republic in retaliation to the barbaric enemy attack brought the positions of the Iraqi mercenaries on the other side of Arvand Rud under fire and destroyed an ammunition dump and several trenches of the enemy and a number of Iraqi mercenaries were annihilated. According to the same report the fire of the self-sacrificing brothers of the Islamic committee against the positions of the Ba'thist infidels in (Fileh) district destroyed one loader and one mortar launcher of the Ba'thist enemy and annihilated a number of the Iraqi infidels. In the past 24 hours, the aggressive Iraqi aircraft

violated Abadan airspace but was forced to flee due to the timely action of the combatants of the air defense unit. [Text] [GF051450 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 5 Sep 82]

BOMB EXPLOSION DEATHS, INJURIES--Following a strong explosion at 1925 yesterday caused by a bomb planted under a truck in Khayyam Street by the mercenaries of the United States, about 20 people were killed and 100 were wounded. Reports by the Central News Unit correspondent indicate that the martyrs and the wounded in this accident are all from the passengers of the United Bus Company and pedestrians who were going home from their work on their daily shopping. Among them there are pregnant women, infants, old men and women. The strength of the explosion broke the windows of surrounding buildings in a wide area and an arcade of shops caught fire. In this incident one of the buses belonging to the United Bus Company, route number 6, and a number of private cars parked in the street were damaged or completely destroyed. The mercenaries of America have committed this tragic crime at a time when the Islamic Republic of Iran has exposed the U.S. plan and has taken a decisive stance toward these conspiracies and has foiled the plots of Zionism and imperialism to implement their evil objectives in the region and to suppress Muslims. [Excerpts] [LD070758 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0330 GMT 7 Sep 82]

AMBASSADORS TO NICARAGUA, JORDAN--Shanti Sarup Bhatnagar, ambassador of India to Panama, has been concurrently accredited as ambassador of India to Nicaragua with residence in Panama. Pyare Lal Santoshi, minister in the Embassy of India in Cairo, has been appointed as ambassador of India to Jordan in succession to Abdul Ghani Goni. [Delhi ISI in English 1439 GMT 28 Aug 82 BK]

IRAQI DEPORTEES IN KHORRAMABAD--Nearly 300 Muslims who have been deported from Iraq by the Iraqi regime have been given shelter in Khorramabad. In an interview with our correspondent, an Iraqi Muslim deportee said that the Saddamist regime is banishing the Iraqi Muslims because of the escalation of the opposition demonstrations. Another Iraqi Muslim deportee said that the Iraqi regime has executed one of its people because he refused to fight against the Islamic Republic of Iran. In their statements, the Iraqi Muslim deportees explained the crisis situation in Iraq. They said that there are great numbers of brave Iraqi Muslim youths in Iraqi prisons because they refused to fight against the Islamic forces. [Text] [GF031650 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 3 Sep 82]

'PLOT' TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL--Hojjat ol-Eslam Musavi-Kho'iniha, the imam's representative and supervisor of the affairs of Iranian pilgrims, has addressed a call to pilgrims to Mecca on the convening of the Arab Summit Conference in Fes. He referred to the plot which is now being implemented, a plot that aims to bring about the reactionary Arab countries' recognition of the Zionist entity--a topic that will be included on the agenda of the said conference for approval. Addressing pilgrims to Mecca, Musavi-Kho'iniha said: In these days when Muslims from all parts of the world have the honor to visit the Mecca and Medina mosque, it is necessary to condemn this [word indistinct] plot at this great Islamic gathering and raise the call of justice and convey it to world public opinion. [Text] [GF061322 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 6 Sep 82]

DESALINATION APPARATUS--An Iranian inventor in the city of (Sarzar) in the eastern part of the country has succeeded in manufacturing an apparatus which desalinates salt water in desert areas. This apparatus operates on solar energy and costs 5,000 rials. So far a number of them have been manufactured and are in use. [Text] [GF310548 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 30 Aug 82 GF]

CSO: 4604/49

'BAGHDAD AZERI' CITES OPPRESSION IN IRAN

GF070630 Baghdad International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: The racist Khomeyni has committed countless crimes against the poor Iranian people since his assumption of power. Through the blood-dripping hands of the Revolution Guards, who are devoid of national honor and dignity, thousands of people have been executed every day in Iran. Tens of thousands of Iranians currently continue to suffer under most difficult conditions in Iranian prisons. In fact, a total of 55,000 Iranians are rotting under torture and oppression in the prisons in Iran under Khomeyni. A total of 20,000 of them are members of the Mojahedin-e Khalq organization opposed to the Iranian regime. The remaining 35,000 are individuals who belong to other opposition political forces.

According to the official reports issued by the blood-dripping administration in Iran, which is dominated by Khomeyni, the number of the people who have been executed to date exceeds 14,300. Of course, there are thousands of other people who have been killed but their identities have not been disclosed. Meanwhile, the number of people who have fled Iran because of the Khomeyni regime's torture and oppression exceeds 600,000. A total of 70,000 of this figure live in Britain, 150,000 in the United States and 400,000 in various other countries. All of them are living like refugees.

Although the fate of those who have been executed, who now rot in prisons and who have already fled Iran is horrible, Iran's economic situation is worse. Since the commencement of the occupationist war declared by the Khomeyni regime against Iraq, the Iranian economy has weakened considerably. Hunger and unemployment are widespread throughout Iran. The war has brought an intolerable situation upon the Iranian peoples. Furthermore, this imposed war has been strengthening the nationwide oppression of the Iranian rulers and tightening the blood-dripping yoke of autocracy on the people. Iranian rulers are continuing to trample upon the legal rights of the oppressed Iranians.

Dear listeners, this is the horrible picture of the situation prevailing in Iran today.

CSO: 4400/454

'AL-AKHBAR' INTERVIEWS IRAQI OFFICIALS

PM021035 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 26 Aug 82 p 3

[Report on interviews with Taha Yasin Ramadan, Iraqi first deputy prime minister, and Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister, by Jamal al-Ghaytani, in Iraq: "Iraq's First Deputy Prime Minister: We Are Satisfied With Egypt's Attitude and the Attitude of President Husni Mubarak"; date not specified]

[Excerpts] The gulf war is now 2 years old, which makes it the longest war in the Middle East, but there is still no sign that the war is about to end. On the contrary, all indications are that the conflict will intensify even further.

What is the situation as seen from inside Iraq? I have interviewed senior officials, university professors and men of religion and culture. It may be significant to look at the situation from the official angle as seen by high-ranking officials.

On the situation after the Iraqi withdrawal from Iranian territory and the Iranian attacks against Iraq, and on the Arab attitude, Taha Yasin Ramadan says: We believe that the attitude of the Arab states is still the same as it was during the first week of the war. I do not expect it to change later. We must not make the mistake of justifying certain attitudes toward a battle between an Arab and a foreigner, like saying that had Iraq done this or that the Arab states would have supported it. There is a common pan-Arab link joining all the Arabs. The first principle is that when the Arab homeland is confronted by a foreigner every Arab must side with his brother Arab. He has a right to voice his observations after the war but not to support the enemy under the pretext of the question: Who started the war? The aim of the Syrian and Libyan support for Iran is to crush Iraq. What does this mean to the Arab nation? It means humiliation for all the Arabs.

When we decided to withdraw our forces we did not expect others to change their attitudes. Everything is clear. They know how the war started. They used to justify their support for Iran by saying that the Iraqi army was inside Iranian territory, despite the fact that we said on the first week that we had no ambitions whatsoever in Iran. Now that we have withdrawn, what do we see? Regrettably, Syria's and Libya's zeal [for Iran] is stronger than before the withdrawal. Certain systems of government have affected the nature of the Arab people. Look at the Arab reaction to the invasion of Lebanon.

The only positive reaction came from Egypt. Iraq's reaction could have been similar if it were not totally preoccupied with the war.

I asked: "Did your decision to withdraw affect the military situation?"

He replied: "The withdrawal decision had a great effect on the unity of our people and their determination to sacrifice. It also had an impact on world public opinion. Many people could not understand the origin of the Arab-Iranian conflict and, therefore, could not understand why we entered Iran. Even if they did understand, they could not side with us. Now the situation has changed."

I said: "What about Egypt's attitude?"

He replied: When we give our opinion about Egypt's position we do not do so in isolation from Egypt's circumstances. We appraise Egypt's attitude in the light of its circumstances, but I can tell you that we are satisfied with Egypt's attitude and with President Mubarak's attitude, and we hope for more. The Egyptian people made their genuine position known from the very first day, by volunteering from inside Iraq and also by expressing genuine sentiments when the Iraqi nuclear reactor was hit.

Tariq 'Aziz is an old journalist and a good friend of many Egyptian journalists. He is now a member of the Revolution Command Council, a deputy prime minister and the official in charge of culture and information. I asked him: What does the Iranian picture look like from inside Iraq?

He replied: Failure is the predominant feature in Iran now. Not one problem has been solved. Khomeyni gives his views on the war but he says nothing about agrarian reform, education, or the economy.

[PM021037] I said: "What about the reparations Iran is demanding in return for stopping the war?"

Tariq 'Aziz said: Iraq is now demanding reparations from Iran. We did not provoke Iran first. Go back to the historical documents. The question of reparations raised by Iran is really ridiculous. Let us assume that there ought to be some reparations for the war losses. Iraq has called for the formation of a committee by the Islamic Conference or the United Nations to determine who was responsible for starting the war, but Iran has refused. What does this mean? It means that Iran is not sure about the outcome. Let us assume further that Iraq would be condemned for going into Iranian territory 22 September: Iraq's responsibility would be limited to the period 22 to 28 September 1980, the day the Security Council issued a resolution calling for a cease-fire. That resolution was promptly accepted by Iraq but rejected by Iran. Therefore Iran is responsible for the continuation of the war. We have stopped the war on our part. We now are repulsing aggression.

And so my dialogue with Tariq 'Aziz ends, but it continues with other Iraqi personalities, but I will say this: At the end of every conversation I asked this same question: How long will this war continue?

The answers were all similar in substance: It will not end. The conflict will never end.

'BAGHDAD AZERI' ATTACKS MONTAZERI VIEWS ON IRAN LAWS

GF011743 Baghdad International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Abu Ringo, that is to say Shaykh- Montazeri, has sent a telegram full of inconsistencies and flattery to Khomeyni after the latter's official statement that, according to them, the laws enacted in the course of the 3 years they have been in power in Iran are idolatrous and should be annulled and replaced with Islamic laws. After confirming usurper Khomeyni's remarks in his telegram, Shaykh Montazeri went on to describe all Iranian laws as being non-Islamic and outside the sphere of canon law. Thus, Shaykh Montazeri confirmed that all Iranian laws are related to the idolatrous era. Therefore, a council should be set up composed of the officials of [words indistinct] in Tehran, Tabriz, Esfahan, Shiraz, Qom and Mashhad to draw up new laws. This council should commence work to realize the Islamic laws.

Had this mullah benefitted from the school of religious enlightenment, possessed any notion of morality and Islam and (?understood) the Koran, whose realities he has been distorting by his interpretations, he would have undoubtedly refrained from sending such a telegram to Mr Khomeyni. Instead, this Abu Ringo would have exposed Khomeyni in the eyes of the people by [words indistinct]. However, [words indistinct] and an imam like [words indistinct] Khomeyni rightfully deserves a representative like Montazeri.

Montazeri has not bothered to think that since the laws enacted in the Khomeyni empire in the course of the past 41 months are non-Islamic, then how can one explain the crimes and treacheries committed in Iran on the basis of these laws? How can one explain the filling of prisons and the execution of innocent youths? How can it be possible that anti-Islamic laws prevail in Iran? How can Khomeyni shamelessly name the administration ruling that country as Islamic and call his empire an Islamic republic?

Nevertheless, Khomeyni, Montazeri, Musavi-Ardabili, Kho'iniha and other (?mullahs) like them have to understand the fact that their republic is not Islamic. It is an anti-Islamic, antipopular and fascistic republic. The laws prevailing in that republic are the laws of the idolatrous era and against Iran and the Iranians. The poor Iranian peoples want to eradicate these laws and their enactors from the face of Iran and replace them with populist and democratic laws. Undoubtedly, the people will do what they say.

'BAGHDAD AZERI' ATTACKS KHOMEYNI OVER DIVINE LAWS

GF020840 Baghdad International Service in Azeri 1800 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] Dear listeners: Gathering the enemies of the people and the Iranian homeland around himself, the shah of the executioners has again begun to issue new declarations [fetvalar]. Khomeyni has said: I have said repeatedly that divine laws should be put into effect against our enemies. The shedding of the blood of the forces opposing us is legitimate. As for their property, whatever they own should be confiscated in favor of the oppressed. There should be no mercy for our opponents. They should be beheaded so that they may suffer under divine laws.

Khomeyni also claimed that a number of canonical, revolutionary and military courts have shown mercy to a number of individuals. Such individuals, instead of being executed were sent to prison. And, with their eating and drinking in their cells, they add to government spending within the framework of the budget.

Khomeyni asked what the word prison means. Either the (?deviated) and the hypocrites are disciplined by the said courts to accept the Islamic revolution and be in its service or they should leave Iran. Otherwise, they should be executed. Khomeyni claimed that certain judges in the courts preferred to either issue simple warnings or release the guilty with a view to acquiring certain benefits. Meanwhile, the criminals continue their activities against the Islamic republic. Khomeyni also stated that the prisons are full to capacity and, according to his declarations, the opposition forces should be killed--the shedding of their blood or the separation of their heads from their bodies is legitimate.

Khomeyni added that he and his colleagues do not know what the Human Rights Commission is. They do not know why this organization was established. Nor are they aware of its goals, Khomeyni replied to himself by stating that this organization's target is to camouflage the crimes committed against the oppressed by the oppressors such as the United States, the Soviet Union, France, Britain, the FRG and the reactionary Arab countries. It is one that directs the crimes of the eastern and western forces against the oppressed.

Indeed, one has to admire Khomeyni's intellect. It seems like yesterday that Khomeyni used to launch complaints with this organization while he lived in France against the crimes committed by the shah of Iran. Now, however, the pharaoh of Jamaran is endeavoring to (?belittle) the existence of the same organization and to present it as a dishonorable, aimless and reactionary setup. In fact, he regards the work of this organization as being influenced by the superpowers.

In continuing his remarks, the indiscreet Khomeyni, this impostor of the century who has not been invited to this world and who has filled both paradise and hell with people, said: We could have done more work. In fact, we could have killed the imprisoned people. However, Islam binds our hands. We could have shown great heroism in the course of this war. But once again Islam is binding our hands. However, Islam does not say that mercy should be shown to all. Therefore, the divine laws should be implemented against the hypocrites and the conspirators. If any of the investigators and judges of the prosecution courts, attorney general's office. (?courts of appeal), Ministry of Justice and the religious and military courts fail to kill our enemies, then it is possible that divine laws will be implemented against the current government officials as well.

It is obvious that Khomeyni has declared an open war against his followers and dregs. In fact, he is endeavoring to intimidate them. Nevertheless, after issuing his anti-Islamic and antipopulist declaration, Khomeyni withdrew to [words indistinct] while Musavi Kho'iniha, Ardabili and other midget fascists and blood-dripping executioners like them, who cannot sleep without first shedding new blood, departed from his residence in great pleasure.

The Iranian mass media organs, which are the mouthpieces of the imperialists and the Zionists, have given wide coverage to the issue. Meanwhile, the (?pursuers of eternal life) have been preaching in Iranian cities and towns to convey divine laws to the people with a view to separating their heads from their bodies. In fact, they are blessing the threats Khomeyni made. However, will they achieve any success in their crimes? Will Khomeyni be killed by the hand of the Iranians and thrust into a corner of hell [words indistinct]. It is our conviction that divine laws will be implemented against these charlatans and [words indistinct]. There is no other alternative in dealing with these antipopulist criminals.

CSO: 4400/454

HARIF ON U.S.-ISRAELI CONTACTS OVER LEBANON

TA271613 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 27 Aug 82 pp 14, 28

[Commentary by Yosef Harif: "'We Are Not in a Hurry!' Sharon Exclaimed When the Americans Tried To Change Their Deployment in Beirut 'To Speed Up the Evacuation'"]

[Text] At one of the strained encounters between Prime Minister Menahem Begin and U.S. envoy Philip Habib, some 3 weeks ago, when the envoy himself was also not sure of succeeding in his mission to get the terrorists out, the two clashed head-on.

Habib momentarily lost his temper and raised his voice. Whereupon Begin turned to Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, sitting beside him, and muttered in Hebrew: "You hear the way he talks, how he raises his voice?" Then he turned to Habib and said to him bluntly: "Mr Habib, why do you raise your voice? I can understand you sometimes speaking like that in Beirut, but here in Jerusalem...here we speak quietly...."

Habib made no reply to this "pedagogic" remark and the conversation ended inconclusively--in nothing, under the shadow of the threatening messages from President Reagan who, presumably, was under the influence not only of the picture of the baby with the "amputated arms," but also of Philip Habib's reports and recommendations.

As time went on, Habib gained the conviction that to save his mission from outright failure, with all the consequences that would have on developments in the region, he had better raise his voice, not in Jerusalem, but in west Beirut and there alone. At that stage of events, the PLO was already deemed "done for" and its dilly-dallying still continued largely thanks to U.S. declarations critical of Israel, on the one hand, and Western diplomatic moves (mainly on the initiative of France), on the other hand. Only on the strength of these dubious considerations did the terrorist leaders persist in posing conditions to the U.S. envoy. Had Israel at that stage responded by easing the siege of west Beirut (this was one of Habib's stern contentions: Israel was "obstructing" his negotiations with the terrorists), it is much to be doubted that the terrorists would have accepted Habib's ideas, as they did in the end--in effect, unconditionally.

Later on, with the agreement for the terrorists' exodus already in his pocket, Habib was ready to admit that the air force operations--about which President Reagan had protested--had actually, as he put it, "accelerated" the negotiations. However, with the exodus of the terrorists now in full swing, there is no point any more in arguing over these "technical" details. It is good enough that Habib himself, and apparently also his superiors, have come round to see that political moves alone would not have sufficed to bring about the evacuation of the terrorists. However, that is not the sole lesson, and surely not the most important one, which it behoves the United States to draw from the protracted, wearisome negotiations that dragged on week after week. For that matter, also Israel and not only the United States must admit that the haggling over every single detail, which sometimes went on for hours on end, was in certain circumstances superfluous. In retrospect it can be seen that the realities on the ground have a dynamism of their own: At their meeting last Wednesday, before the departure of Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon for the United States, optimism prevailed, and envoy Habib opined that the evacuation of the terrorists would be completed before the date set in the agreement.

But what did the negotiations look like a fortnight ago? Under Habib's original plan, the multinational force should have made its entry after the bulk of the terrorists had been evacuated. Israel rejected this proposal and insisted that only after all the terrorists had left west Beirut, would the multinational force enter and not beforehand. After a while, Israel was prepared to endorse Habib's proposal, but by then, under duress of developments on the ground, Habib had come up with a different proposition: The multinational force would enter and take over positions occupied by the IDF not after the departure of the bulk of the terrorists, but after half their number had left. Finally, Israel agreed. And lo and behold, this week Israel agreed to bring forward the entry of the multinational force when, actually, not even a third of the total number of terrorists had quit Beirut.

[TA271624] The moral: Neither the envoy's raised voice, nor the threatening notes of the President in person, served to push the negotiations forward. As for Israel, only honest dialogue, comprehension of its fears and mutual confidence were capable of softening its "tough" stance. The fact is that, the moment the countries of the multinational force undertook the commitment that if the terrorists violated the agreement and deferred their departure, the multinational force would withdraw and the IDF would reoccupy its previous positions, at that moment Israel consented to bend. It follows then--as stated emphatically by the prime minister--that the need is to "speak quietly in Jerusalem and not raise one's voice. What Israel cannot accept without threats, it will not accept even with threats...."

It would seem that also envoy Habib, who has been invited for talks after the exodus of the terrorists, in order to be congratulated on his blessedly successful mission, got the point of this "weakness" on the part of the prime minister. This lesson was important in achieving the agreement on the exodus of the terrorists. It is similarly important for the next stages, two in number: A) To ensure also the departure of those terrorists who have meanwhile contrived to disguise themselves as Lebanese civilians or as peaceful Palestinians, "otherwise there will still remain the seeds of terrorism in Lebanon"--as stressed by the defense minister in his last conversation with

the U.S. envoy--and B) To ensure, furthermore, the departure of the "foreign forces" from Lebanon, that is, the Syrians.

Without consummation of these two stages, it will not only be difficult for Israel but also for the United States, to achieve its aims. It may be assumed that the issue will be discussed in depth in the defense minister's talks with administration heads in Washington. True, the United States did not bid Israel Godspeed on the IDF's entry into Lebanon, on 6 June, but what counts is that at the prime minister's meeting with President Reagan in the White House on 21 June the two men reached a joint strategy (notwithstanding all the reservations about the campaign having been started in the first place, as read out by the President from a written document in his hand...) and that joint strategy is based on three principles: 1) All the terrorists must leave Lebanon; 2) in their wake, also all foreign forces, including the Syrians must leave; 3) a stable and strong government will be set up in Lebanon, restoring to Lebanon its full sovereignty.

As time went by, the United States and Israel ran into differences, sometimes of a severe character. But fundamentally these related to tactics and not to strategy. The strategy remains a shared strategy and has to this day undergone no changes.

Where do we go from here?

The thing depends, of course, in large measure on the firmness of the U.S. administration's stand. So far, Israel has had no reason to doubt the U.S. stand. The fact is that envoy Habib himself has informed the prime minister that the withdrawal of the "foreign forces"-- that is, those of Syria and Israel--must be effected simultaneously, and Begin in his formulation designed to strengthen this concept (concerning which he has also written to President Reagan) has reiterated: the IDF will withdraw from Lebanon when the Syrians do likewise--"not a moment before and not a moment after."

Better still, even in the most difficult moments experienced by Israel in the political sphere these past few weeks, when the U.S. administration lashed out at it and when the media there followed suit, and when President Reagan showered threatening notes and messages on the prime minister, saying that relations between the United States and Israel were "in danger of being tipped," even then the President saw fit to publicly speak up in Israel's favor. Not only did he declare that although Israel had admittedly reacted with "disproportionate" military operations, he also said it would be impossible to ignore the fact that it was the PLO which in most instances had violated the cease-fire agreement, thereby leading to the Israeli ripostes.

[TA271646] Actually, on one occasion Reagan spoke up in defense of the Israeli incursion into Lebanon--and in public. At the height of the tense arguments with envoy Habib here and with administration men there, in Washington, the United States transmitted for Israel's information the English version of an interview given by President Reagan to the French newspaper LE FIGARO (on 10 August), in which he explains that the Israelis did, as they claimed, go into Lebanon as part of an act of self-defense, in reaction to the terrorists'

attacks with shell fire and rockets which wrought death and destruction on Israeli settlements all along the Lebanese border. Reagan goes on to say that original Israeli purpose was to create a security buffer zone to prevent shell-fire attacks, but subsequently the Israeli forces found themselves under attack: "Well," said the President to his interviewer, "were they to have stood there, waiting to be killed? And had they withdrawn, then again the shelling across the border would have gone on. So the Israelis continued to advance and reached the point where they now stand."

In retrospect, it looks as if President Reagan was at one with Israel's moves, and Jerusalem knows how to appreciate his steadfastness at this difficult moment when in his immediate entourage there were those who advised him not to content himself with merely voicing threats to Israel, but to impose sanctions on it.

There are, seemingly grounds for the optimistic appraisal that in the coming phases too the United States will continue to go hand-in-hand with Israel. From this point of view, it will be interesting to note the results of the meeting of Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. Those who have witnessed with their own eyes how what were dismissed as ideas that were not fully contemplated finally brought about the major turnabout in Lebanon, cannot treat with "indifference" the theses which the defense minister is taking with him to Washington.

In this context, there was a noteworthy conversation this week between the defense minister and Philip Habib's aid, Morris Draper, and Ambassador Samuel Lewis, who accompanied him. The meeting was originally arranged to clear up certain "technical" points for the landing of the U.S. force in Lebanon. The Americans asked for permission to deploy in places not included in the Habib agreement. Israel agreed to a number of concessions, but responded negatively to the aforesaid request. The defense minister thought it was not merited for the departure of the terrorists.

When the Americans contended that the slow tempo of the terrorists' exodus was not their fault (the British agent who was commissioned by the United States to provide the ships to take away the terrorists--the self-same agent whose "fleet" performed the evacuation from the Falkland Islands--sent in ships that were too small for the evacuation of the terrorists from Beirut). Sharon's response was: "Never mind, we are not in a hurry. We are patient, and the slow tempo does not warrant changing the agreement...."

Draper mustered up his powers of persuasion, attacking the minister from another angle: that may delay the departure of certain units attached to the Syrians....

Sharon: "That reminds me, Mr Draper, of the story of the husband who came home and told his wife that the neighbor's daughter had got herself pregnant. So he said to his wife, 'I am afraid they are going to blame us again'...."

What do you want of us? asked Sharon. We are acting according to the plan mediated by Philip Habib. Why do you wish to introduce changes in the deployment plan. You will only expose the U.S. troops to unnecessary troubles...."

But if the Americans' concern was to obtain broader deployment of their forces, without explaining precisely why they wanted this, the defense minister had other concerns of his own. He was concerned with striking, as it were, a mini-balancesheet of things and moves to come right there and then. He apparently assumed that if he could convince his interlocutors that it would pay Washington to take Israel's assessments seriously, then that would make it that much easier for the United States to reach an understanding on the next phases of the Lebanese campaign.

It stands to reason that these topics will come up in the talks the defense minister will be having in Washington, what with his arriving straight from Beirut and being able to provide first-hand information--both about the Syrians and about the new president of Lebanon, Bashire al-Jumayyil.

[TA271703] Sharon invoked as a witness U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis who was present when he, Sharon, raised his ideas about going into Lebanon. Sharon said to his two interlocutors, with two Foreign Ministry representatives in attendance: Here we are now witnessing the ongoing expulsion of the terrorists from Lebanon. We hope the operation will be completed on time, but already it has been possible for free presidential elections to be held in Lebanon. And you, Mr Lewis--the minister turned to the U.S. ambassador--you will recall that, way back in the month of September, during Prime Minister Begin's visit to Washington, I tried to explain to you Americans how important it was to strive to achieve the following aims in Lebanon: To get rid of the PLO and thereby to enable the government in Lebanon to enter a process which would restore sovereignty to that country. We spoke about it with (former secretary of state) Haig and with Habib, but "nobody believed that the thing could and would, in reality, be done...."

On that occasion in Washington, Sharon went on, I asked Habib: "Were you ever in Christian Lebanon?" He said no, but when I urged him to go there, he said that he would do so, when he gets a "chance" to return to the region. But it is we who created this opportunity for him...and as a result of the Peace for Galilee operation he really also came to Christian Lebanon. For my part, I think that a free Lebanon is in the interest of the United States, and not only of Israel, and here now is the chance to effect a decisive change in the region."

With a touch of pride and with great satisfaction, Sharon added, turning to Lewis: I thank you all for at least having made endeavors in recent months to promote these aims which I put to you a year ago....

And on a personal note the defense minister confessed: Incidentally, gentlemen, I felt a tinge of jealousy when I saw on television this week the documentary on chapters in the life of Philip Habib. The country whose media knows how to mete out harsh, even savage criticism, as in the case of President Nixon (in the Watergate affair) is also capable of positive media reportage....But it seems that a couple of centuries of independence are needed for a certain society to behave and act in that way....

But the defense minister was quick to drop the personal note and get back to the business at hand: I would suggest that you help stabilize the regime in Lebanon. There still are, and will be, many problems. Now, at least, do extend aid to this country by stabilizing the situation on which peace with us and peace in the region as a whole depends. Do, please, learn the lesson: The unbelievable has happened--the terrorists are being expelled.

What are the defense minister's sentiments in the new reality?

The time has not yet come for resting on one's laurels; one has to watch every detail carefully (which is why he refused to let the Americans deploy in Beirut beyond what was necessary). Or, as he told the chief of staff on Saturday, as the two old "warhorses" here watching the first shipload of evacuees sail away from the port of Beirut: Raful, do you know how I feel now? Like after a hard battle when you lie down for a breather beside the armored personnel carrier... but when you only lie down for a moment, since you know that this is the most critical moment when you have to keep your eyes wide open and when you must not rest beside the armored personnel carrier for more than just a brief moment....

Whether by chance or not, not long after this encounter there came from Washington the announcement that Secretary of State George Shultz invited the defense minister for talks on Friday (incidentally, he was scheduled to visit the United States as the principal speaker at an Israel bonds function). Still a few hours later came the announcement that his counterpart, U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, also wished to hold talks with him.

Malicious tongues immediately began to spread the word around that Sharon had "requested" [biqesh] talks with the two secretaries and had, as it were, "imposed" himself upon them. Not so. In the first place, what would be wrong if the defense minister had wished to take advantage of his visit to the United States for discussions with the senior members of the administration in Washington at this important stage of the campaign in Lebanon? Secondly, why not simply take it at face value that just as much as Sharon wished to talk to them, Shultz and Weinberger wished to talk to him? Don't they know how to appreciate Sharon's part in the military and political sphere of the Lebanese campaign, which started out as Operation Peace for Galilee?

[TA271720] Are the personal relationships between the Israeli defense minister and the newly elected president of Lebanon a secret? In general, is Sharon going there as a "private" person? Isn't he known to be acting in total coordination with Prime Minister Menahem Begin?

The same day on which Sharon had his meeting with Draper and Lewis, the report was published that Secretary of Defense Weinberger--against the background of the argument over the "affair of the jeeps," which delayed the sailing of a shipload of terrorists--had rebutted "Sharon's interpretation of the agreement" [heskem] and instantly the suspicion was aroused that the defense minister meant to exploit this incident to resume...bombing Beirut.

Sharon (to Lewis): I am sorry to say that in Weinberger's words there is something of an attempt to create the impression that I have been looking for a

pretext to bombard the terrorists, whereas you people know the facts: You asked on Saturday that heavy equipment (beyond what was specified in the agreement) be brought in to facilitate the evacuation, and I agreed without hesitation. Why do you people always have to blame Israel for all manner of doings and intentions that are sheer fiction? All right, as far as I am concerned, I can take it; but where is your decency?

Draper spoke up for himself: "Believe me, I am innocent...."

Lewis wanted to make sure: "Did Weinberger really say that?"

Yes, indeed, the administration too should be interested in clearing up misunderstandings. And what is more important still is the need it sees to create new understandings with Israel against the background of the developments which have occurred in the region and to which, to quote the defense minister, "Nobody in the administration lent any credence less than a year ago."

In point of fact, since the beginning of the expulsion of the terrorists, it is not only the United States that has changed its tone. France, too, is speaking differently. (At this week's cabinet meeting, Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, in his political survey noted increasing signs of France's seeking to appease Israel and to improve bilateral relations.) Britain, too, is speaking differently, and it would appear that there is no major political body that believes, after all that has happened, that the PLO can yet be saved by pressure on Israel from the United States and Western countries. There would also appear to be special significance to Moscow's current silence. Moscow, known for its sense of realism, acknowledges the new reality that has been created, a reality in which shooting from the hip will serve no purpose, but one which requires in depth study of the change wrought in the region over the past 3 months. And that is how it is with Moscow, then the United States, into whose hands so many and such precious trump cards have been placed, should do likewise and more so, much more so.

A few days ago, when President Reagan was asked how he views the future of the Palestinian problem in light of what has happened in Lebanon, he answered, "The thing is not clear." It is incumbent on the administration, he said, to find out just what the Palestinians want. It was not clear to him whether what the PLO wants is acceptable to all the Palestinians. There may be many Palestinians whom it would suit better to stay where they now are, as they do not necessarily want to return to "Palestine." One thing is clear also to President Reagan, in light of his latest pronouncements, and that is that in order to be able to reach a worked-out settlement [hesder] that will also satisfy the Palestinians, the PLO has got to be out of Lebanon.

The administration has no choice but to admit that the turnabout in Lebanon caught it unawares. The consequences have still further "embarrassed" it, and that is part of President Reagan's dilemma today. Advisers within and outside the administration (the prime minister this week sent a cable to Ambassador Arens, asking him to meet with Dr Kissinger, who for some reason has begun to raise proposals deviating from the Camp David accords) voice all sorts of pieces of advice into the President's ears. Everyone agrees that the

exodus of the terrorists from Lebanon is not a solution to the Palestinian problem per se. Philip Habib said rightly when presenting the document of the agreement reached with the terrorists: This is not an "international agreement": It is a "transportation plan." After the transportation of the terrorists has been concluded, then the problem will begin.

This is also the prime minister's contention, and therefore he got in ahead and announced last week that now it is necessary to resume the autonomy talks with renewed vigor.

The truth is that it does not look as if anybody today has any more practical plan. It is a plan which, under the Camp David accord, is only regarded as an interim arrangement [hesder]. It would seem that, when all is said and done, all the "advisers" will go round and round--and come to the conclusion that at this stage there is no better solution than autonomy. One of the reasons for this, perhaps the primary reason--as a senior source said in Jerusalem last week--is that "Reagan knows Begin well enough to know how far 'the cord can be stretched without snapping' and how high one's voice can be raised."

CSO: 4400/459

COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS WITH U.S., LEBANON, EGYPT

TA291354 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 29 Aug 82 p 9

[Commentary by Erol Guiney: "Peace With Israel Might Endanger Al-Jumayyil's Presidency"]

[Text] The visit of Defense Minister Ari'el Sharon in Washington; the coming visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in Israel, Lebanon and Egypt; and a number of statements made over the weekend--all these enable us to see more clearly what can be expected in the next few months.

It does seem that the beginning of the terrorists' expulsion from Beirut assuaged the tension between Washington and Jerusalem. But from the Sharon-Shultz meeting, it transpires that the basic disagreements were left as before, not only with regard to the autonomy plan and the Palestinian problem but also with regard to the question of Lebanon.

In truth, there is a consensus between Israel and the United States with regard to the removal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, strengthening the Lebanese Government and crystallizing security arrangements on the northern border of Israel. But it seems that this is not enough for Israel, which claims that no security arrangement will be efficient without the signing of a peace treaty between Israel and Lebanon.

Sharon stated this in Washington. Minister Shamir stated this in Jerusalem in his talks with representatives of foreign countries who have a special interest in Lebanon. Prime Minister Menahem Begin even declared that there will be peace between Israel and Lebanon before the end of the year.

The Americans, in contrast, think that such a demand might endanger the positive developments in Lebanon. In their opinion the new Lebanese president, Bashir al-Jumayyil, might be able to establish a strong and stable government, despite the big opposition in his country, if three conditions are fulfilled:

--If the United States helps Lebanon, and Weinberger does mean to talk with Al-Jumayyil about U.S. aid which will enable establishing a strong and united Lebanese army.

--If the Syrians remove their forces from Lebanon. The Syrians are already signalling in this direction. They told foreign ambassadors that the stay in Lebanon caused them only problems; that the Lebanese corrupted their army; and

that if the Arab summit conference to convene in Fez asks them to leave Lebanon, they will gladly do so.

--If the Israelis leave Lebanon without making the signing of a peace treaty a condition for their departure. Such peace, according to U.S. opinion, will isolate Al-Jumayyil internally and externally, and will make the Syrian departure more difficult.

Al-Jumayyil himself knows all this well enough; and no doubt he will calculate his steps very carefully on this question.

Despite all that, the problems attached to Lebanon seem lightweight compared to those attached to the autonomy plan.

In the Sharon-Shultz meeting it was made clear that the United States will not deviate from the framework of the Camp David accords, but they would like to give the widest possible interpretation to the concept of "full autonomy." Nowadays they are under pressure from the Egyptian president, Husni Mubarak, who makes the renewal of the autonomy talks conditional not only on the withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon but also on U.S. recognition of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

No doubt Weinberger will handle this subject on his future visit in Cairo. In any case, it is clear that the new U.S. policy, which will be presented next month to the UN General Assembly and which will take into account the decisions of the Arab summit in Fez, will be opposed to some of the Begin government's principals.

Here it should be added that the Americans were not very impressed with Ari'el Sharon's meeting with the heads of the village leagues in Judea and Samaria. It seems that Israel will have to find more convincing "moderate Palestinians" in order to prove that the PLO influence in the territories has weakened considerably and that nowthere is a chance that moderate Palestinians will accept the Israeli version of the autonomy plan.

CSO: 4400/459

WEST EUROPEANS BOYCOTT SCIENCE MEETING

TA301248 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 30 Aug 82 p 9

[Report by Avraham Peleg]

[Text] While a number of Western European scientists boycotted a conference on crystallography, which opened yesterday in Jerusalem--in protest against Israel's actions in Lebanon--researchers from Poland and Yugoslavia announced that they would participate.

Dozens of scientists from 25 countries are participating in the 7th European Crystallography Conference, which opened yesterday at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem's Mount Scopus Campus.

A letter from the Free University in West Berlin contained a sharp protest by five scientists against Israel. Among other things, the scientists add: "We will not visit Israel nor cooperate with Israeli research institutions because of what you are doing to the Palestinian people."

Another letter, sent to the conference organizers, described Israeli scientists as being "honorable men no doubt," but accused the state of Israel of "genocide."

The conference organizers noted that since the beginning of the Peace for Galilee operation, the number of cancellations received from foreign participants has not exceeded the number ordinarily received at international conferences. However, a large portion of the cancellations--mainly those from scientists in Britain and Germany--are explained as being political reactions to the Israeli Government's actions in Lebanon.

The scientist organizers of the conference responded that science and politics should not be mixed. The conference is being held by the European Crystallography Association and is being organized by the Israeli sister-association under the auspices of the scientists' academy.

Attending the conference are physicists, chemists, biologists and geologists. One of the subjects they will discuss is molecular structure research.

CSO: 4400/459

'HA-ARETZ' ON AUTONOMY, AREA VILLAGE LEAGUES

TA021824 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 2 Sep 82 p 9

[Commentary by Tzvi Bar'el: "Autonomy of Area Village Leagues"]

[Text] "Somehow we always succeed in leaving the playing field to someone else," a public figure in the West Bank told me this week. "The time has come for us to begin to act. It is inconceivable that we allow the thugs of the area village leagues to be the ones who will be responsible for the Palestinian people and its political future."

There is no doubt that the forced sprouting of the area village leagues frightens to a large extent the Palestinian elements who believed in direct negotiations with the Israeli Government. The intentions and deeds of the leagues' heads are aimed at achieving senior rank, and actually to fill the political vacuum which has existed in fact since the West Bank was part of Jordan and even before that time. Indeed, in their meeting last week with the defense minister the leagues' heads expressed, through their sole spokesman--Mustafa Dudin--the wish that they be allowed to set up an administrative council that would assume the management of the affairs of the West Bank in all the civil spheres.

The practical meaning of this request is that the league heads will be the ones to appoint the directors of the district offices of health, to operate the systems of education, taxation and commerce, and in brief, to assume the functions borne today by the headquarter's officers of the civilian administration, or more precisely, they will be like the supreme command of the West Bank.

In the absence of another public element in the West Bank willing to assume these functions which are a part of the autonomy plan, and in the absence of a central element that would be able to impose its will on the inhabitants of the West Bank and manage its affairs imperiously--it is possible to think that the solution of extending autonomy by means of the area village league heads and with the help of the IDF arms they possess could satisfy Israel. This is because at least for external show the Israeli Government could indicate that here the Camp David accords are being moved from theory into practice. -The Arabs are conducting their affairs by themselves, there is no more Israeli military government or civilian administration and thus ends in effect the chapter of occupation.

Hints that the Israeli Government is ready to consider the members of the area village leagues an autonomous leadership that will meet the demands of the Camp David accords were dropped in statements by the defense minister during his visit to the United States, where he said that prior to his departure he had met with "leaders from the territories who are willing to negotiate with us." It is worth noting the fact that the members of the area village leagues are the only "figures" with whom the defense minister met, even the prime minister took the trouble to meet with several figures not connected with the leagues and to discuss several political matters with them.

The area village league members are now busy studying the application of the Camp David accords in the West Bank, and they are especially bothered by the clause that speaks about the holding of elections for the Administration Council. They have asked to be given the Arabic version of the accords and to have explained to them the various meanings of these accords. Mustafa Dudin in Hebron, Bishara Qismiyah in Bethlehem, Yusuf al-Khatib and their colleagues in the other districts have been spending long nights trying to find the appropriate loopholes to overcome the main obstacle on the road to their dominion--the elections. Of course they have been told by security elements that they have nothing to fear in this regard, but they have not yet been given the details. In fact, there are several possibilities of circumventing the matter of the elections. One springs from the assumption that as a result of the fierce opposition shown by the inhabitants to autonomy--actually the general boycott of the ideas has been expressed by public figures representing all the hues of the political spectrum in the West Bank from PLO supporters to Jordanian supporters and ending with those called the "moderates"--the league men will be the only ones to present their candidacy for the Administrative Council when the time comes for doing so. Accordingly, they will be the sole figures to be presented as showing general assent among the inhabitants as to their elected leadership. The evidence--those who want to can claim--is that no one else presented his candidacy, indicating that they have no opponents.

A second possibility intended to guarantee the election of the league men derives from the description of the character of the elections. According to the accords, these will be personal elections and for them electoral constituencies will have to be created in which figures who live in those areas will present their candidacy. In this case, it is not said who will make the division into these areas or how. It is reasonable to suppose that the Israeli Government will be the one to take upon itself the technical preparations for the holding of the elections. If this is the case, it will be possible to divide the areas in such a way as to ensure, almost automatically, a majority for the men of the village leagues. In the villages, for example, geographically it will be possible to divide the town of Hebron into several electoral constituencies and join to each such geographic area a village area. In this way a majority will be guaranteed to the type of inhabitants who support the area village leagues.

[TA021830] There is a third possibility also stemming from lack of clarity of the agreements regarding the body in charge of preparing for the elections, which is to give the area village leagues leaders the tools and the ability to prepare the elections themselves and to decide both on the electorate's list and the election constituencies. There is no doubt that they will act in the

best way to ensure their election. These, as said, are only some of the possibilities at the disposal of the government to ensure the election of its candidates.

For them this will only be the beginning of the road. At the next stage the area village leagues members, if they are indeed elected, will have to establish themselves and organize the "autonomous" offices pertaining to every sphere of the population's life. Here their road will be easier if the Arab leaders of the existing offices decide to cooperate with the "elected council." According to the current stage of affairs it is reasonable to assume that the mid-level officials and those subordinate to them will indeed want to maintain their status and source of income and will agree to receive wages disbursed by Dudin or Qimsiyah. The senior officials, in contrast, will want to keep its honor and refuse to cooperate as was the case when the civilian administration tried to appoint mayors in place of the removed ones. Senior jurists and officials, although heavy pressures were exerted on them by the civilian administration to agree to accept the appointment refused even when there was fear they would be dismissed from their present positions. However, in this case too the road of the area village leagues members will be easy and it is possible that they will prefer the refusal of the senior officials to cooperate with them so they can dismiss them and appoint yesmen instead.

Even if this is the most plausible scenario--on the assumption that the activity of that council will still be carried out under the open eyes and threatening hand of the Israeli authorities--one should take into account the other possibility, that the appointment of such a council headed by these "personalities" will entail extensive and sharp public opposition which will be expressed in strikes by public servants, with the support, if necessary, of the Arab countries opposed to the Camp David accords and the autonomy plan. This support may take the form of paying large salaries in return for lack of cooperation with the Administrative Council, or alternatively, threats such as barring the entrance to Jordan to collaborators. In fact, there will be no novelty about this regarding the policy of Jordan which continues to pay wages to officials who do not work under the Israeli authorities or to attorneys who do not appear in the "Courts of the Occupation Regime."

In the present reality in the West Bank, when the area village leagues leaders have gained the "reputation" they have and when public figures begin to wake up and try to seize leadership, it is reasonable to assume that this scenario according to which the various levels of officials will totally reject the protection of the area village leagues will be more realistic. Nevertheless it will be possible, at this stage already, to make use of the area village leagues in order to prompt the emergence of a West Bank leadership that will be to a large extent acceptable to the majority of the population.

CSO: 4400/459

ISRAEL

BRIEFS

SYRIA SILENT ON MISSING SOLDIERS--To this day no information has been received from Syria about the soldiers the IDF regards as missing. Some requests that were sent to Syria via the International Red Cross have still not been answered. According to the Geneva Convention, the Syrians should have provided information about the missing they are holding 1 week after they were taken captive. To date no information has been received about them. Despite repeated appeals by senior elements from the IDF and representatives of the Red Cross, the Syrians are refusing to give information about the missing they are holding. As will be recalled, the Syrians at one time announced that they had buried four IDF soldiers in the Jewish cemetery in Damascus. Their names were reported, but in an investigation it emerged that the names were those of IDF soldiers who had not been taken captive at all and were alive and still serving. [Report by Ya'aqov Erez] [Text] [TA271200 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 27 Aug 82 p 1]

RAKAH DELEGATION IN PARIS--One of the PLO spokesmen, Yasir 'Abd Rabbah, told a delegation of Rakah members this week that the PLO will not turn into a terrorist organization. In a meeting held in Paris the day before yesterday between the Israeli delegation and 'Abd Rabbah, the latter said there are other ways for the struggle than terrorism. Mk Charlie Biton and a member of the Rakah's political bureau participated in the meeting, among others. [Text] [TA281944 Jerusalem Domestic Television Service in Hebrew 1900 GMT 28 Aug 82]

EGYPT ON AUTONOMY TALKS--YEDI'OT AHARONOT says that the demands Egypt has set as preconditions for resuming the autonomy talks are impudent dictates and warns the Israeli Government not to entreat Egypt to soften its conditions. YEDI'OT AHARONOT stressed that Israel was not defeated by Egypt and that the autonomy talks are less important to us than for Egypt. [Excerpt] [TA290953 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 29 Aug 82]

CSO: 4400/459

FURTHER REPORTS ON BEGIN-JUMAYYIL TALKS

TA031325 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1105 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Interview with Political Correspondent Shim'on Schiffer on 3 September 1982 in the studio by the announcer]

[Excerpt] We reported this morning another meeting Al-Jumayyil had, in addition to his meeting with Caspar Weinberger. This is the meeting held 2 days ago between Prime Minister Menahem Begin and the new president of Lebanon. We already heard on the news that Mr Begin criticized Al-Jumayyil who ignores Israel. What did the president-elect of Lebanon answer?

[Schiffer] Lebanese President-Elect Bashir al-Jumayyil explained to Begin the problems he is facing now that he has become the president of all of Lebanon, and he is trying to convince the prime minister as well as other Israeli officials who are meeting with him that they should not pressure him because his intentions are good and he does mean to establish peace relations with Israel. At the moment, however, he has not even established a government in Lebanon. Only after he does this and the situation in Lebanon stabilizes will he be able to reach a state of peace.

[Question] Did the prime minister express understanding?

[Answer] The prime minister asked to hold this meeting because he was under the impression that from the moment Bashir al-Jumayyil became the Lebanese president-elect he, in my words, started ignoring the friendly relations that have existed between him and Israel for many years and the prime minister would like to stop this. It should be noted here, that on this subject the prime minister is acting contrary to advice given to him by experts. Experts among the policymakers here claim that Bashir al-Jumayyil should be allowed first of all to establish a stable government and only then should Begin come to him with demands. The prime minister, from the first moment Al-Jumayyil was elected president of Lebanon has been talking openly about the friendship with Al-Jumayyil, and already when he was elected he sent him a cable and called him a friend. This is why he does not understand why Al-Jumayyil in his public meetings, as well as in the private ones, is talking in a very round about way about his relations with Israel.

CSO: 4400/454

NATION'S LEADERS CALL FOR NATIONAL REFORMS

GF311437 Doha QNA in Arabic 0855 GMT 31 Aug 82

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 31 Aug (QNA)--Five of the outstanding political leaders in Lebanon have stressed the need for a dialogue among the various Lebanese political factions to make changes in favor of Lebanon's unity.

In a statement to the paper AL-ITTIHAD published today, they stressed the need to ensure withdrawal of Israeli troops and to end political sectarianism and the issue of partition.

Amin al-Jumayyil, member of the National Assembly and elder brother of the president-elect, called for an end to the logic of partition and all forms of occupation, including the presence of any regular military forces, with the exception of the Lebanese Army. He stressed the need for a democratic political dialogue among all the sides that believe in independent Lebanon and for making the necessary changes in the constitutional institutions to meet the current needs of Lebanon. He also stressed that all these sides adhere to the charter of the Arab League which regards Lebanon a founding member of the league.

Leader of Al-Murabitun Movement Ibrahim Qulaylat demanded adoption of a unified Lebanese position based on confrontation of the Israeli occupation, formation of an agreed upon government, holding a referendum and ensuring Arab and national allegiance in order to rebuild a modern state removed from narrow-minded and sectarian influences.

Leader of the Lebanese National Movement Walid Junblatt called for the formation of a new institution, to be called "The Constituent Council," which will include all the influential political and religious figures and will study the future of Lebanon. He said: "Work should be directed toward developing the National Charter of 1943, and thus reaching a political agreement that ends the system of religions and factions and genuinely represents the Lebanese situation.

Leader of Amal Movement Nabih Barri criticized the parliament and the current Lebanese authorities. He said: They do not represent the popular will either constitutionally or legally. Besides, with the current structure, they do not present any possibility for reconciliation, even though the situation requires that they be regarded as symbols of the legitimate government in Lebanon.

Leader of the Lebanese Bloc Raymond Iddih referred to the current situation in Lebanon as being a move in the direction of partition according to the plan drawn by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He added that this plan is still continuous and furthermore, Sa'd Haddad and Bashir al-Jumayyil helped in implementing it. He also called for action in the direction of foiling all U.S.-Israeli plans aimed at realizing this plan.

CSO: 4400/454

LEBANON

BRIEFS

ISRAELI ARMY ROADBUILDING--Beirut, Sep 4 (AFP)--The Israeli Army is driving roads between the Lebanese-Israeli border zone and Israeli front-line positions in central Lebanon's Al-Biqa' Plain where Syrian forces are entrenched, the Palestinian News Agency WAFA reported today. A 45-km (28-mile) road had been constructed already and another--linking Marj 'Uyun, in the eastern part of southern Lebanon, to Lake Qir'awn Dam, in the south of the Al-Biqa' Plain--was being built, WAFA said. [Text] [NC042225 Paris AFP in English 2215 GMT 4 Sep 82]

NEW LEBANESE CABINET--London--A Lebanese politician who is closely associated with the Lebanese Front, and residing in London, noted that President-Elect Basir al-Jumayyil will start his term by forming an efficient cabinet capable of controlling all of Lebanon and of achieving national unity. He added that the president-elect has concluded a draft of his new cabinet which will include the leader of the Lebanese National Movement, Walid Junblatt, Nabih Barri of the Amal group, Ibrahim Qulaylat of Al-Murabitun and Dori Sham'un of the Liberal Party, in addition to a number of the leaders of the military militias which participated in the Lebanon war. He pointed out that this policy of Al-Jumayyil is strongly opposed by the traditional politicians, but it faces stronger opposition from Father Shirbil Qassis, former head of the Maronite order in Lebanon, who played a major role on the Christian side during the first stage of the war. The Lebanese politician said that in addition to all that the speaker of the National Assembly Kamil al-Asad, joined the opposition because he doesn't want to see Barri representing the Shi'ites in the cabinet. He said that Bashir al-Jumayyil is currently making attempts to have his views approved by all sides. Al-Jumayyil told associates that security cannot be achieved without the participation of all armed groups in the government and merging the armed militias into the Lebanese Army. This politician also said that Bashir al-Jumayyil will succeed in forming his government under the slogan of "Rebuilding of Lebanon." The only obstacle is that those selected to enter the paradise of rule object occupying any official post in the presence of the current Israeli occupation of Lebanon. [Text] [GF041510 Kuwait AL-HADAF in Arabic 3 Sep 82 pp 1, 2]

FORMER PRESIDENT ON AL-JUMAYYIL ELECTION--Kuwait, Sept 5 (KUNA)--Former Lebanese president Sulayman Franjiyah condemned the election of the Phalangist militia leader Bashir al-Jumayyil as new president for Lebanon and described the election process as null and void because it took place by force. In a statement to

AL-QABAS newspaper Franjiyah warned that the election of Al-Jumayyil aimed at making Lebanon join the American sponsored Camp David accord signed between Egypt and Israel in 1978. Franjiyah told the newspaper that "from the elections which took place last 22 August, I concluded one thing, that we are living in the same days Latin American states had passed through early this century." Franjiyah affirmed that the opposition to Al-Jumayyil's election is unanimous outside the territories occupied by Israel and added that "I can assure you that even those who are under the occupation are no less angry over that election than those outside the occupied lands." What the U.S., Israel and Egypt are waiting is for everybody to join the Camp David accords and sign unilateral peace treaties with the Zionist state, the former president said. Franjiyah described the election of Al-Jumayyil as the unnatural result of that current phase of the Arab-Israeli conflict which is bound to be wiped out when the equilibrium changes, and when things go right in the Arab world and when the Arab nation decides to confront the Zionist aggression and to put a final end to the American conspiracy against our people. [Text] [LD051242 Kuwait KUNA in English 1144 GMT 5 Sep 82]

TYRE DAMAGE REPORTED--The Lebanese provincial officer in the southern part of the country has said that the damage done to the city of Tyre in the Lebanon war is much less than first thought. Hasan (Haydar) said that a survey showed that only 300 homes were destroyed in the fighting. He told our correspondent Yo'el Dar that the Lebanese authorities are not helping to rebuild the ruins. Three local engineers have volunteered to help, and they are now looking for financing. [Text] [TA291129 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1100 GMT 29 Aug 82]

SHI'ITE HOMES DESTROYED--Tens of thousands of Shi'ites have returned to their homes in the area between An-Naqurah and Sidon, and in the area called Fatah-land, at the foot of Mount Hermon. Our correspondent Yo'el Dar has reported that many of them found that their homes had been destroyed. Tens of thousands more Shi'ites have remained in Beirut and its environs. [Text] [TA310925 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0900 GMT 31 Aug 82]

100,000 LEBANESE RETURN--Sidon--The Peace for Galilee Operation has thus far enabled some 100,000 Lebanese civilians to return to their homes and villages in southern Lebanon, village leaders and Israeli officers told THE JERUSALEM POST yesterday. The refugees, who fled their homes in the 1970's when the PLO occupied their villages, are mostly Shi'ite Muslims who fled to the slums and suburbs of Beirut. They received no assistance from the Lebanese Government or Arab organizations, the sources said. THE POST learned that in many instances the refugees found their villages deserted and their homes in ruins, particularly in the area on the Mount Hermon slope. [Text] [TA010800 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 1 Sep 82 p 3]

CSO: 4400/454

BRIEFS

LETTER FROM QADHDHAFI--Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad has received a letter from his brother Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Libyan Revolution, on developments of the current situation in light of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon and consequent problems. Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad sent a letter to his brother Colonel Mu'ammār al-Qadhdhafi in reply to the letter he received from him yesterday. In his reply, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad expressed the PDRY's consistent stand on the latest developments in the Arab region and the measures and procedures that should be adopted in order to confront the Zionist invasion of Lebanon, continue to support the struggle of the Palestinian people and uncover U.S. plots hostile to Arab people, and take effective measures in this regard. [Text] [GF310628 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 0430 GMT 31 Aug 82]

MESSAGE FROM PFLP LEADER--Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received a written message from brother George Habash, secretary general of the PFLP, during his meeting with brother Mahir Tahir, member of the PFLP Central Committee, who arrived in Aden from Beirut early today with a group of Palestinian fighters. In his message, brother George Habash described the military battles and the political situation in national Beirut lived during its valiant resistance to the Zionist invasion. He affirmed that despite the situation in Beirut [words indistinct], the Palestinian Revolution left the Beirut battle with new (?gains and experience) which will enable it to enhance and consolidate its struggle to realize its legitimate goals of returning, self-determination and establishing an independent national state for the Palestinian Arab people. Brother George Habash evaluated the PDRY stand and the efforts brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad has exerted to ensure the exit of the Palestinian Revolution and the Lebanese Nationalist Movement. Brother George Habash said: These courageous stands will remain inculcated in the minds of the Palestinian strugglers and Arabs who will continue (?revolution until victory). [Text] [GF291413 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1230 GMT 29 Aug 82]

AGREEMENTS APPROVED--Brother 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, secretary general of the Central Committee, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and chairman of the Council of Ministers has issued three decrees. The first decree approved the loan agreement to finance the third education program signed between the PDRY and the International Development Establishment on 25 May 1982. The second decree approved the loan agreement to finance rural

water projects signed between the PDRY and the Arab Economic and Social Development Fund in Kuwait. The third decree approved the trade agreement between the PDRY and the Islamic Republic of Iran signed in Tehran on 19 July 1982. The decrees charged officials to implement them from the date of issue and publish them in the Official Gazette. [GF291458 Aden Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 28 Aug 82 GF]

CSO: 4400/455

'AL-JAZIRAH': U.S.-USSR CLASH 'IMPOSSIBLE'

GF311605 Jidda AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 26 Aug 82 p 3

[Editorial: "The Confrontation Between Superpowers Is an Impossible Delusion"]

[Excerpts] The United States and the Soviet Union, the two mightiest countries in the world, succeeded in deluding the Third World countries that due to their extreme support, aid and backing for the Third World peoples' struggle for freedom, development and progress, and due to their competition in that support, a military confrontation might occur between them.

Many Third World leaders fell in the trap of that "delusion" and distributed their political loyalties between the Western and Eastern powers. That has been one of the greatest reasons for the disputes, divisions and problems that the Third World countries and peoples have experienced and are still experiencing in their relations with one another. This reflected on their international relations and even on their stances toward the common fateful causes of the Third World peoples. Thus, the turbulent situation prevailed in many regions of this world, including the tension, the controversies and the civil or regional wars that are crushing the poor developing peoples, destroying their development and delaying their progress.

If we review the history of relations between the two world superpowers and the reflection of these relations on their political and strategic thinking toward the poor Third World, we will discover that "conformance" has never been absent in their bilateral relations, even in situations where competition to achieve their active national interests in the Third World reached a climax; that is, the interests of domination and power, and usurpation of raw materials--which represent the primary consumption market of the Third World countries and people--to utilize them in their economic production.

There has never been disagreement between them because they follow two parallel strategic lines that could never meet. Thus, a confrontation between them at anytime or any place is also impossible, even in times of extreme competition and struggle over their own interests.

In 1956, when Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt from Port Sa'id after the Egyptian resolution to nationalize the Suez Canal, it was necessary for the two superpowers to terminate that invasion because its continuation would have

harmed their strategic interests in Egypt and the Middle East. Thus, they both agreed that the maximum U.S. President Eisenhower should do would be to proclaim his political opposition to the invasion of his three allies, Britain, France and Israel. It was left up to Soviet President Bulganin to directly threaten military action against the three invading countries to stop their invasion and withdraw from Egypt. This is how the famous "warning" of Bulganin to the three invading countries came about.

In the seventies when the Soviet Union brutally invaded Afghanistan, a small country in Asia, occupied it and continued to occupy it, the United States did not do anything for the sake of the UN Charter of International Law, which was violated by its "intractable" friend the Soviet Union, to counter the dangerous crime committed by the Soviet Union against an independent state and free people.

Thus, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan did not touch the agreement between Moscow and Washington and it also did not harm Washington's strategic interests in Afghanistan. That is why this invasion has continued and is succeeding in imposing a communist regime on the Muslim Afghan people.

From this fast review of the history of relations between the two superpowers, we notice that a military confrontation between them over a country or a number of countries in any region of the Third World would be totally impossible if no real danger threatens their active interests. Even when their interests are threatened by the regional situations in a Third World area, such as the Middle East, they apply the strategic alliance between them as a basis for avoiding a military clash which would endanger their interests in the countries and the peoples of that area. That is, they stand together against the countries and peoples of a region such as the Middle East if the clash of their interests threatens the strategic alliance, which is the only way they can maintain their interests and power and counter the growth and the development of the people of the Third World.

We must understand this and learn from it when we are dealing with our fateful causes.

CSO: 4400/455

'AL-RIYAD' SAYS U.S. PLAN SHOULD BE TESTED

GF051154 Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 4 Sep 82 pp 1, 19

[Editorial: "The Palestinian Decision"]

[Text] With all the Arab and international plans that are being proposed, the Palestinian question remains the biggest historical Arab problem.

In view of the fact that international developments have played a great role in softening the Arab stand by playing on the weak points and the political vacuum in order to create an Arab view that converges with the present historical developments, the birth of the new U.S. plan has not been a surprise. It is a new test of the Arab stand, or more correctly the Palestinian stand, on a number of issues and plans.

Just as the objective of the new U.S. plan may be to improve the image of the United States following the events in Lebanon, and considering realization that military solutions cannot be the final arbiter, and that U.S. military and financial commitments to Israel cannot be shouldered for a long time, a peaceful solution is the alternative solution to the historic conflict between the Arabs and the Zionist enemy.

Other issues remain and have to be taken into consideration, both by Arab Governments and by the Palestinian Arab people, who have the right to decide whether to accept or reject [the U.S. plan].

The clear fact is that the Palestinian people established their identity only when the PLO became a real power on the Arab and international levels. At the same time, the PLO was a front that did not enjoy absolute Arab or international acceptance. Hence, the many violent crises it experienced, up to the recent war when it firmly confronted the Zionist enemy.

Perhaps the latest war has generated its own law--that is, the U.S. plan has not come from a vacuum. Although we now see the negotiator negotiating over Arab territory lost in the 1967 war, while the resolutions of the 1948 war and the partition of Palestine between the Palestinian and the enemy have been annulled, the present reality means that we should face a Palestinian decision. An Arab agreement or rejection follows. As long as there is no tutelage over the Palestinian people, an Arab acceptance or rejection will be a reaction. Following the recent war, there is no binding reason for the PLO to succumb to the

view of any Arab or world leader that is not compatible with its own decisions and will.

The PLO is facing a serious political option and maneuver. In order that it will not fall victim to political views and judgments, it needs a foothold on Palestinian territory. This does not mean that by accepting the present U.S. plan, or an amended version, it will historically meet its doom. What is needed now is to test the U.S. conscience and its ability to ethically and politically abide by its commitment to the Palestinian Arab people, and to relinquish its constant bias toward Israel.

The choice is extremely difficult. What is more difficult is that other counter choices should become a pretext for the United States to abandon the least favorable of choices, for the United States knows that it is the only power that is capable of cutting Israel down to its natural size. We also realize that the United States is a great power that has its interests and aspirations. No one can deny this.

In any case, the PLO has the final word. It has emerged from its experience more mature. It alone has the right to formulate the appropriate response. This is what is required in the present very critical stage.

CSO: 4400/455

SAUDI COMMENTARY ON U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAEL

LD050420 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] The Israeli war minister, Ariel Sharon, criticized U.S. President Ronald Reagan's initiative for peace in the Middle East and said: It is the right of Israel to reap the fruits of its achievements.

If Sharon considers the aggression against the Palestinian people and the invasion of a neighbor of occupied Palestine as an achievement, then what shall we call the Palestinian people's struggle to return to its lands and to recover its usurped rights? And if the rejection of peace by imposing capitulation on the entire Arab nation is an Israeli cause that all leaders of the Zionist entity seek to achieve, then the Arab nation considers peace as an Arab cause that ought to be achieved in spite of aggression. The major problem in the Israeli thinking lies in the concept of peace, because Israel considers any peace that will not realize its complete hegemony as aggression against it. Therefore, the mere suggestion of recognizing the rights of the Palestinian people turns Israeli nerves [word indistinct]. In implementing its schemes, world Zionism has depended on its control of an adequate pressure group in the United States. This has made the adoption of the Israeli point of view a U.S. presidential campaign issue for both the democratic and republican parties. When President Reagan made his initiative for solving the Palestinian issue following the crimes Israel committed in Beirut, it meant that President Reagan had sensed the existence of a base supporting this correct policy course, which will lead to the establishment of the peace aspired to by the peoples of the region.

However, Sharon's attempt to describe the crimes he committed with U.S. arms and money as an achievement accomplished by Israel is an insistence on persistently following the wrong path, in which Israel has marched for 35 years. If we look at the U.S. papers and what they wrote for the first time about the arrogance in which the Israeli leadership is living, we will realize that the only thing accomplished by the Israeli aggression in Lebanon is the demolishing of the fortified dam which was standing as an obstacle between the American people and the knowledge of the true situation in the Middle East. This we could call Palestinian penetration of the Zionist strongholds, in the United States. The Palestinians have reached the arena of direct influence on U.S. public opinion, which has discovered the human incineration caused by Begin and Sharon in Beirut.

Suffice it to refer to the view of the CHICAGO TRIBUNE, in yesterday's article, in which it described Israel as a state concerned only for itself and led by arrogant [word indistinct] that are drunk with the ecstasy of domination. To remind Sharon that the weapon with which Israel has fought, namely the distortion of Arab history and the Arab reputation through the U.S. media, has started to backfire. It was fatally struck by a Palestinian hand, which stood steadfast in Beirut and is still holding the trigger until victory is achieved, God willing.

CSO: 4400/455

RIYADH COMMENTS ON CARTER, U.S. MIDDLE EAST POLICY

LD040804 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 3 Sep 82

[News and commentary by Husayn al-Askari]

[Text] In an article in the WASHINGTON POST, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter urged the American administration to shoulder the responsibility of mediation in order to achieve a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

It seems that the Israeli assault on Lebanon has corrected many American politicians' ideas. The Israelis' aggressive nature has started to become clear through the Israeli forces' siege of west Beirut and its indiscriminate bombardment of the civilian population and their property, because we sense in Carter's statements what was not possible during his presidency. We must admit that among U.S. presidents he attempted most to find a solution to the Middle East issue. However, he did not present a formula that was acceptable, particularly to the Palestinians. They alone have the right to express their cause through the PLO, whose views were excluded only to be replaced by the Camp David formula which froze the peace initiatives within the Israeli's understanding of peace.

It is incontestable that the former American president was about to move in a positive direction that contained all points of view and to reconcile them as a starting point in a new phase of intensive diplomatic work to reach a peace formula acceptable to all concerned parties in the region. However, later events--namely the developments in Egypt's stand--lessened American interest and limited its maneuverability.

Former American President Jimmy Carter's reference to the fact that withdrawing the Palestinian resistance from Beirut will not solve the Palestinian issue because the Palestinian ordeal is still the decisive factor in the search for peace seems to be a correction of the errors successive American administrations' made in viewing the Palestinian issue and in excluding the PLO's role from the peace decision, a decision without which peace could not be established under any circumstances. It is certain that the ideas and strong criticism contained in Jimmy Carter's article of the idea of establishing Israeli settlements on the occupied Arab territories are worthy of appreciation, regardless of all that could be said about this course's negativism which was not evident during his term as president.

It is that it is a matter of opinion. We are called upon to realize the emotional effect that the Israeli aggression on Lebanon has had on American public opinion with regard to the Palestinian issue. We must not realize the need to use our own strength as an American official in the American mass media for our benefit. If we can talk to the American citizen in the manner that we understand, we will achieve an Arab presence in American public opinion. Public opinion will put pressure on the American Government to remain neutral in the Arab-Israeli conflict and to abandon the unilateral support which has been shown as if it is the only state in the region. We must to realize a very important matter: If we could win the effective personalities in American public opinion over to our cause—regardless of their previous attitudes, even if it was a hostile attitude to us—if we could win these personalities over to our side, it would be a gain for our cause and a step away from the conditions which have harmed us and are still rampaging and destroying our nation's future cause.

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RIYADH LAYLA PAPER ON U.S. INITIATIVE

LAMAR (P) RIYADH (S) Service in Arabic (NSA) DMI 4 JUL 82

(Excerpts) Commenting on the U.S. initiative, AL-MADINAH said that the initiative does not respond fully to all Arabs' aspirations but it is a logical start from a staunch ally of the Israeli enemy. Add to this that it is the first U.S. recognition throughout history of something called the Palestinians. The paper pointed out that the initiative does not give a clear indication or guarantee for the Palestinian state. The paper concluded: Our current circumstances dictate that we should open a dialogue with the United States regarding the Palestinian state.

AL-MADINAH said that Reagan's proposals are still not clear. The party which is most concerned about these proposals is the PLO and the Palestinian people, despite the fact that these proposals were not directly addressed to them. The paper referred to some of the points and described them as being welcomed by the Palestinians and the Arabs. They concern halting the construction and the expansion of settlements and the nonimposition of the Zionist sovereignty on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In conclusion the paper stressed that the question should not escape the hands of the PLO and the Arab nation and that it is inevitable that the initiative should remain in the Arabs' hands, based on legitimacy and a striving to realize comprehensive and just peace.

CSG: 4400/433

RIYADH: U.S. PROPOSALS MARK NEW PHASE

1/0041340 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Ehadd Bashawwah "News Analysis"]

[Text] Peace and stability in the Middle East are currently the main concern of political forces both in the Arab area and within that part of the international community concerned with events in the area. Many believe that peace must be founded on bases that the Arab side is convinced will guarantee that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are the direct touchstone for any initiatives or efforts.

These facts are fully understood by the Arab nation. They are also reasonably well understood by some of the international forces tackling the Middle East conflict.

The peace needed for the area must be characterized by collective objectives and elements and by practical steps. All stands must be governed by a sense of justice in tackling the needs for stability and peace, eliminating attempts to squander the rights of those whose cause is just. Otherwise, the negative effects will influence the Arab reaction to those contributing to the peace process.

Undoubtedly the emergence of signs of a breakthrough in the positions of some countries constitute a strong indication of the start of an era of international understanding of the elements and bases of peace consistent with the Arab perspective.

Although what is being offered might not be comprehensive, in general it could constitute a positive step toward further future developments that would bolster the chances of peace and stability. The important thing is that the world is beginning to sense and to realize that the situation in the Middle East can only be solved or stabilized by finding a suitable solution for the Palestine problem.

What must be affirmed here is that the Arab nation has begun a phase of political confrontation with the international forces with a view to convincing these forces of the justice of the logic needed for the establishment of a just comprehensive peace in the area.

Reports in Tel Aviv have stressed that the methods of these and other assaults would be the job of the authorities and would lead to peace or stability. However, both the Tel Aviv rulers try to destroy or disrupt to achieve peace. The Tel Aviv fine question remains: how to the international community, which has actually begun to review the bilateral and unilateral actions of the police of Tel Aviv, which has additional military and intelligence and direct threats to the police and security of the area.

The proposal by the U.S. administration of certain elements for review contained in the solution of the Valuation question, provides clear proof that there are signs of the start of a new page, namely, after the data consolidation by the same element for stability: the Valuation element.

What is important, in addition to the above, is that the European initiative has moved from the phase of limited influence into a phase of considerable pressure. Forces inside for peace in the Middle East. This new phase follows several other phases that have passed, notably the stands of the European Community and the international forces which have become convinced of the importance of solving the Palestine problem as a prerequisite for the establishment of peace in the area.

OUR ONLY LIGHT REMAINS: how the Arabs can deal with the new threat is some of the international policies in a way that will benefit the Arabs, the Jews and for a just solution for the cause.

As it is about to hold a conference of interested states in both substance and form, the Arab nation ring itself at the threshold of a confrontation with the international forces with a view to creating a harmony in view and unity that would result in negotiable solutions which would open the road not only to a genuine peace in the Middle East but also to world stability.

COMMENTARY TOWARD U.S. TO ISRAELI ISSUES

REUTERS Riyadh: Demand of Services in Arabid 11:30 GMT 0 Sep 87

(Riyadh) In a move considered by political observers as a challenge to the plan submitted by President Ronald Reagan for a settlement of the Middle East problem, and to the peace-loving states and the international community, the government of the Zionist entity has approved the building of five new settlements in the occupied West Bank and one settlement in the Gaza Strip. News agency Agence France Presse said that the Zionist agency intended to build a big settlement project south of Hebron, where seven other Jewish settlements will be built. At the same time, the government of the Zionist entity has built 107 settlements in the West Bank and 12 in the Gaza Strip within the context of an enemy government that is still 100,000 Jews in the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

The U.S. administration described the Israeli decision as a totally unwise step and said that this Israeli measure shakes the confidence of all and also causes tensions among the residents and seriousness of Israel to adhere to Security Council Resolution 242. The U.S. administration also repeated that it would not move from its attitude toward the Israeli settlements and that it would make it clear to Israel that it looked at this matter with absolute seriousness. The highly-worded U.S. statement coincided with the announcement by the enemy government of the setting up of new settlements in the occupied territories and with a message received by the administration from the prime minister of the Israeli enemy in which he confirmed his cabinet's refusal to abandon the occupied West Bank.

Observers predict a crisis between the Israeli and U.S. sides because of the Israeli behavior, which totally contradicted the things called for by the U.S. President in his initiative on the Middle East. Observers warned that the decision by the Zionist entity to build more settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip could be a prelude to the final annexation of the two occupied territories. Observers also linked the decision of the enemy government to build these settlements with Israel's building of military installations and settlements and the new roads being built from occupied Palestine to the Al-Gaza' valley, a matter which was considered a provocative step, as it seems, to the Syrians, a matter which would create a confrontation between the forces of the enemy and the Syrian forces.

SAUDI ARABIA

1987 TELLS ARAB LEADERS TO EXAMINE REAGAN PLAN

110606Z Riyadh SPA in Arabic 0525 GMT 4 Sep 87

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Riyadh, 4 Sep (SPA)--The press has commented on the contents of the new U.S. peace plan for the Middle East. The papers were unanimous in their view that the plan should be studied carefully and without haste and that the Palestinian decision on the plan should be the final word. Ukaz said that the Arab leaders who will be meeting in Fes the day after tomorrow should consult each other on this plan and adopt a unified stand toward it. The paper pointed out the positive elements which the plan contains and said that there is a change in Reagan's attitude which the Arabs should exploit to the maximum. This entails President Reagan's admission that the Palestinian question is a question of legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, that is to say it is no longer a question of refugees. There is also President Reagan's acceptance of a transitional self-rule leading to a Palestinian entity and a rejection of Israeli settlements on the West Bank and his desire to make the latter join Jordan.

Ukaz pointed out that this change does not meet the Arab-Palestinian demands in full. This is true. It is not expected and it is not logical that Reagan should offer the Arabs everything they demand in full on a golden platter while they are divided as a result of differences.

The paper called for an Arab agreement at the Fes Summit at the minimum at this stage, out of the principle: benefit from the possible which is available. There should be definite and precise Arab ideas which should be put to the world to be debated and negotiated side by side with the U.S. initiative.

CSH: 4407455

SAUDI ARABIA

BRIEFS

JAPAN TO SUPPLY HELICOPTERS--Jidda, 29 Aug (SPA)--His Royal Highness Prince Nayir Ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, minister of the interior, this evening signed an agreement with a Japanese company for the purchase of 10 helicopters for civil defense; they are to be used for firefighting and first aid. The agreement also provides for training Saudi youth and the maintenance of the helicopters for a period of 5 years. The first batch of the aircraft is to be delivered within 4 months. The civil defense project, for which the public security department has ordered the helicopters, involves setting up two bases in Asir and Mecca. The three other bases in Riyadh, Jidda and Dhahran will be extended to accommodate the necessary aircraft and equipment. The minister of the interior added that the program which cost nearly 600 million riyals, will increase the number of aircraft by 10, to a total of 16. He said that there is a training scheme for over 216 Saudis and about 40 Saudi pilots, so that the administrative and technical operations are conducted entirely by Saudis. His highness expressed his hope that the civil defense program will be completed to safeguard and protect ports. [Excerpts] [LD301238 Riyadh SPA in Arabic 1855 GMT 29 Aug 82]

CSO: 4400/400

'SANA' CONDEMNS REAGAN'S PLAN

JN031040 Damascus SANA in Arabic 0718 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] Damascus, 3 Sep (SANA)--Commenting on the new U.S. "initiative," Tishrin says the Arab region, which has been afflicted by Al-Sadat's peace and its bitter fruits, is now heading toward more woes and tragedies.

The paper says: President Reagan has come out to the world and the Arabs with his plan concerning the future of the region and the Palestinians. He went about mapping out plans for the Arabs in general and the Palestinians in particular as if the whole region is U.S. territory to be divided and distributed according to the whims of the White House.

After noting that the Reagan plan proceeds from absolute and firm commitment to Israel's security and superiority, rejects even the idea of discussing the establishment of Palestinian state, fails to demand Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza and speaks only about a link between these two regions and Jordan and supplants legitimate Palestinian rights, including the right of self-determination, by some form of autonomy which would only further entrench Zionist hegemony, the paper says: Reagan has not also forgotten to refer to the Zionist fighters from Beirut. The invasion, he said, has enabled Washington to proceed with its Middle East plans.

Tishrin asserts that Reagan is trying in one way or another to drag and involve Jordan in the Camp David quagmire by linking the West Bank and Gaza to the Jordanian regime and completely canceling Palestinian self-determination.

The funny thing, the paper adds, is that Israel has rejected even this bogus link and insists on officially annexing the West Bank and Gaza without the need for this U.S. scenario, which was made public only a short while before the Fes Summit so as to give more sedatives to those Arab rulers who maintained silence over the Israeli invasion.

Tishrin concludes: When the Arab summit meets, Syria and those Arabs who reject such humiliation by the United States and the Zionists must place the other Arabs before historical responsibilities. He who stands with his nation and its central issue--the Palestine question--cannot stand in the U.S. rank, because the United States and Israel are partners in the aggression against our people and nation.

SYRIA

DAMASCUS REPORTS ON STATEMENT BY IRAQI DISSIDENT

JN042022 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1915 GMT 4 Sep 82

[Text] Maj Gen Hasan an-Naqib, the commander in chief of the forces of the Iraqi Revolution, has stated that Syria, under the leadership of struggler Hafiz al-Asad, is currently symbolizing Arab honor and dignity and representing the nation's pride and greatness in a sea of invasion, treason and complicity. In a statement to SANA, An-Naqib said that the confrontation of the Zionist invasion by the Syrian forces and the joint forces has opened a new chapter in the history of the Arab struggle against the Israeli aggressors and has proven that the steadfastness of the Arab fighters, armed with faith and conviction, is capable of defeating the Zionist invaders and restoring usurped rights.

An-Naqib described the Iraqi Revolution as that of the entire Iraqi people against the fascist regime of Saddam Husayn. He said the revolution represents the Iraqi fighting groups and the various factions and organizations of the Iraqi people. He said that the brave Iraqi revolutionary forces are now fighting in each city and village with the aim of toppling the Saddam Husayn regime so that Iraq may return as a pure Arab power to stand with the steadfastness and confrontation front states led by fraternal Syria to defend the honor of this nation, its existence and holy places. An-Naqib asserted that the Iraqi people's revolution would triumph because it represented the Iraqi people's conscience and because it encompassed all the Iraqi national parties and factions.

CSO: 4400/454

SYRIA

BRIEFS

REACTIONS TO U.S. INITIATIVE--President Ronald Reagan's proposals on the Palestinian cause and the Middle East crisis have aroused various reactions; some completely rejecting these proposals, as was the case with Israel, and others expressing a cautious welcome. On the Palestinian level, the U.S. proposals were categorically rejected because they ignored the Palestinian people's basic rights, particularly their right to establish their independent state on their national soil. The political forces and governments which support the Palestinian cause considered these proposals as being a U.S. tactical move with the purpose of improving the U.S. image in the region, especially since these proposals have come on the eve of the Arab summit conference scheduled to be held in Fes on Monday. While the Zionist quarters explain their rejection of the U.S. proposals on the basis that they are a violation of the Camp David accords, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter announced that President Reagan's proposals conform to the Camp David accords and the interpretation of these accords by Carter himself. In the occupied territories, U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger expressed satisfaction in the wake of talks he had with Israel's Foreign Minister Shamir. The U.S. secretary of defense also believes that Israel's response to the U.S. proposals has been hasty. He stressed that some Israeli ruling circles support Reagan's initiative. [Text] [JN050910 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1630 GMT 4 Sep 82]

CSO: 4400/454

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

ISLAMIC, YEMENI BANKS AGREEMENT--The Islamic Bank for Development and the Yemeni Construction Bank signed an agreement in Jidda today. By virtue of the agreement the Islamic Development Bank will finance foreign trading transactions worth \$5 million for the Yemeni Arab Republic [GF301232 Manama WAKH in Arabic 0630 GMT 30 Aug 82 GF]

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Sept. 22, 1982